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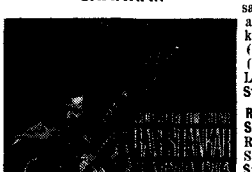

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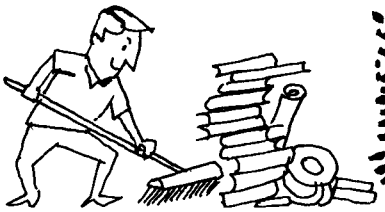

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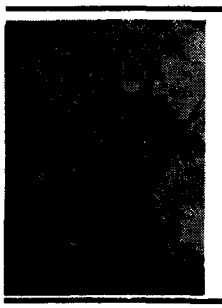

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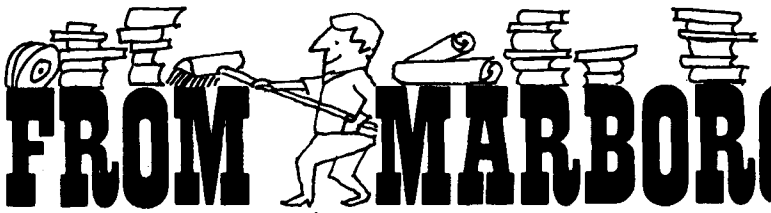

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T.R.B. from Washington

If Not LBJ, What?

★ It simplifies everything if you think of Lyndon Johnson as an ogre. The really shocking thing is that he isn't. This was evident in debate last week in the ADA board of directors where, as Paul Wieck reports in this issue, a majority endorsed Senator McCarthy. Mr. Johnson had strong defenders on his domestic policy; it was Vietnam, of course, that caused the split.

Among those who resigned from the board was Leon Keyserling, an economist whom we have always admired. Keyserling lauded the President as a fighter for economic and social causes, who has reduced employment (5.7 percent down to 3.5 percent), who has named commissions that have urged the government to become "employer of last resort" and "blazed the trail for the guaranteed income"; who got a 13 percent increase in social security benefits and extended minimum wage coverage; who expanded federal aid to education, concentrated national attention upon the "30-odd-million poor" and who achieved or sponsored a lot of other excellent social achievements. A man who does that is hardly a monster. Ah, but there is Vietnam. . . .

Personally, we don't see how the ADA board could have done anything but what it did: if it had not supported Senator McCarthy who was fighting for its program it might just as well have folded, we think. We don't take too gloomy a view of ADA's future, either, for we think its ever-shifting support will bring in new members on the peace issue. After all, the organization is not meant to be opportunistic, it is meant to be idealistic, and it is better to have an ADA that you don't always agree with than to have no ADA at all. But what we started to say is that Lyndon Baines Johnson isn't an ogre. On the domestic front, as Mr. Keyserling recalls, he has a pretty good record. On Vietnam we think he is wrong – and so were the other Presidents who got us into this mess, and almost certainly any Republican who might replace Mr. Johnson, and the millions of Americans, who backed what seemed to them to be the logical course at the time, based on what they were led to believe.

The ogre theory cuts down on a lot of debate. But it leaves agonizing, unsettled questions ahead. Take the McCarthy candidacy itself. The senator has exposed himself to the primaries as a matter of conscience in order to try to muster a sizable peace vote. But he has no hope of ousting Mr. Johnson from the Democratic nomination. He frankly says that he prefers Mr. Johnson to any Republican now likely to be picked. Chances are that if the Republicans name Nixon, which seems likely, Mr. McCarthy will support Mr. Johnson. And what will the ADA do then, poor thing, and what will you and I do? Look around for a Norman Thomas, maybe.

Meanwhile, the War

★ The mood in the nation is dully depressed. The stock market has fallen sharply though it may bounce back. People are saving more money, nearly always a sign of anxiety and squirreling of funds. The Administration answers a sudden call for 10,500 more GI's and talks about reserve call-ups. One or two are bold enough to criticize General Westmoreland; others immediately call them unpatriotic. Secretary of State Rusk shows signs of nerves in briefing newspapermen, and Mr. Johnson shows an undercurrent of bitterness and self-pity, comparing his trials with Lincoln's. The Harris poll finds a rise in "war support" from 61 percent to 74 percent (whatever that means) though only 43 percent believe current battles will result in military victory. Gallup says Mr. Johnson's rating has slipped four points since January and that 35 percent now approve his handling of the war, while 50 percent disapprove. (There are signs that those who disapprove want even more bombing in North Vietnam.)

The President loses his two best Cabinet men, McNamara and Gardner. Speculation and rumors abound: peace activities by UN Secretary General U Thant are met by a declaration of Secretary Rusk that negotiations have got nowhere. Reports of plans to use tactical (small) nuclear weapons are traced down and denied, and then revived again, when General Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, says he "does not believe they will be needed" to defend Khe Sanh. In short, the mood here is confused, sour and jittery and nobody believes anything and believes everything.

Lincoln Revival

★ There is one nice thing in Washington in all this gloom. The old Ford's Theatre that the government has spent $2.7 million and two years to restore turns out to be a gem. The current performance of Stephen Vincent Benet's *John Brown's Body* is something to charge the soul. The acting is good but not outstanding, but the acting, the play and the setting *together* are tremendous. There is the box where Lincoln sat, with flags now draped again under it where Booth tripped in his long jump to that very stage, and so sprained his ankle.

And at one point the stage is darkened save for one illuminated figure who comes forward to tell lines we have all unconsciously been waiting for, how Lincoln at the end took his wife to drive and talked about their future and brought her, relaxed, to the theatre and saw the comical play: "The shot rang out. The crazy murderer/Leaped from the box, mouthed out his Latin phrase/Brandished his foolish pistol and was gone./Lincoln lay stricken in the flag-draped box, living but speechless. . . ."

And the lights return and there is the silent box and you are not merely listening to history but participating in it. Other nations are putting on their sound-and-light performances. Here in one of the 742 cane-bottomed seats of Ford's, that looks like a theatre crossed with a Congregational Meeting House, I defy any American not to feel his spine tingle when he hears again that ancient, terrible war song, "John Brown's Body."

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Rockefeller-Watching

There is still Nelson Rockefeller. But the mountain must come to Mohammed, and the mountain is not easily moved. The New York governor cannot again set out openly to capture the Republican presidential nomination; he must let Romney have his run; he must see whether Nixon falters, and how badly. Four years ago, Mr. Rockefeller toured the land seeking delegates. He lacked neither money nor national standing and he lost to a bona-fide loser, Barry Goldwater. That campaign, despite later vindication in the elections of New York State, still dogs him. For many Republicans of the sort who go to national conventions won't forget or forgive Rockefeller's harsh words about "extremists," his refusal to work for Goldwater, or his progressive approach to the problems of the cities, the poor and minorities. At the 1960 convention, following his "Morningside Heights" agreement on the GOP platform with Richard Nixon, Rockefeller was treated by delegates as if he were an enemy agent. Four years later, he was again booed and interrupted repeatedly during a convention speech. Mr. Nixon called him a "party divider," a "spoil-sport." Mr. Rockefeller replied that the Republican Party had drifted away from the American consensus."

But the tastes of political parties are tempered by expediencies, by the mood and needs of the electorate, and Rockefeller has always urged his party to get away from ideology and stress "specific things that could be done for the people." At the governors' conference last year, a few sympathetic sounds were heard for Rockefeller even from Southerners. They, too, are not indifferent to success. As conservative a Republican leader as Melvin Laird urged Rockefeller to leave his name in the Wisconsin primary. A poll of Republicans in the Congress showed a majority convinced that Rockefeller is the GOP's best hope, because of his appeal to independents and Democrats.

One of the governor's strongest points is his habit of hiring intelligence and listening to its counsels. It has been productive of constructive programs for domestic renewal (the high cost of which Rockefeller understands). But the record is far less appealing when foreign policy is considered. One need only recall Rockefeller's foolish crusade in the early sixties for bomb shelters in every town, or his suggestion in the Godkin lectures at Harvard (admirable on the subject of federal-state relations) that free nations form regional confederations to meet the communist challenge – an echo of the discredited doctrine of John Foster Dulles. He gave only grudging

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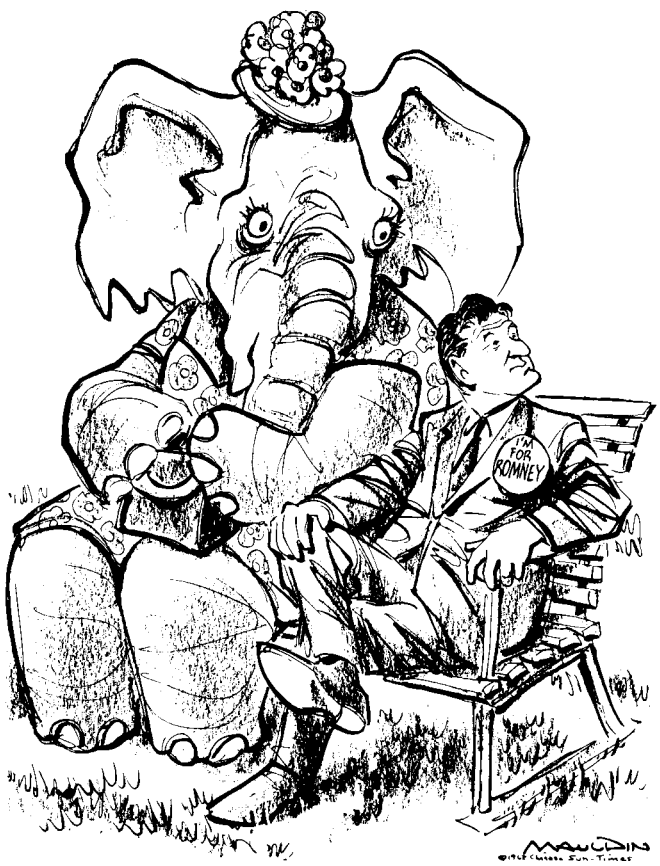
assent to US wheat sales to Russia in 1963, conditioning his approval on Russia's removing "some limitations on access to Berlin." He was cool toward a limited nuclear test ban treaty, warning President Kennedy that it might impair our nuclear capability: "The treaty should be ratified in the knowledge that it would prevent the US from matching Soviet gains in high-yield and anti-missile weapons, while it permitted the USSR to conduct underground tests necessary to match US superiority in low-yield weaponry." In March of 1964, the governor suggested the US end all economic aid to what he termed aggressor nations (he cited Indonesia specifically); he opposed any expansion of US trade with communist countries until a common agreement had been worked out among non-communist nations – a utopian and self-defeating notion. Since then, he has had little to say about foreign affairs, though in March of 1966 he associated himself "wholeheartedly" with Lyndon Johnson's policy on Vietnam.

It is reported that Rockefeller has since moderated his hawkish position on the war, and that his oversimple view of the nature of communist power and how to deal with it has become more sophisticated. If that is so, it needs to be known by the general public. Nelson-the-Silent, as *The New York Times* has called him, must soon make plain what he thinks of the war,



"This thing might be bigger than both of us, Rocky, baby."

of this Administration's miscalculation and misrepresentation in Vietnam. He must – if he is to be taken seriously as a possible President – show himself to be a peacemaker. He is in a good position, as governor of New York, to explain not only what Vietnam is costing the Vietnamese, but what it is doing to undermine the domestic tranquillity at home.

The political effects of Rockefeller's collision this month with the mayor of New York City cannot yet be gauged. In refusing to send the National Guard to break a strike of sanitation workers, Rockefeller placed labor's right to strike (and getting the garbage collected!) over the city's right to manage its own affairs. He turned Mayor Lindsay down even though the strike was "illegal" under New York laws, and even though the strikers were public employees. His action infuriated the mayor (their relations have never been cordial, and there is a built-in incompatibility between their two offices), but it probably did little to hurt Rockefeller with citizens who wanted the garbage picked up, or with organized labor. Should a Rockefeller candidacy really blossom, his refusal to send the Guard and his backing of a higher pay package than the mayor wanted, may commend him to voters in big industrial states where a Democratic candidate cannot hope to win without solid labor backing.

Rockefeller may have seen that public employee unionizing is the frontier of the labor movement in the 1960's. In many ways, the strikes and fulminations of teachers, city workers and other local government employees resemble the industrial civil war of the great manufacturing industries in the 1930's. Rockefeller's decision in the New York strike can be compared to Michigan Governor Frank Murphy's aid to struggling auto workers more than 30 years ago, except that Rockefeller's move was even more openly pro-labor. Even union men who care little about public employees appreciate that the governor sided with them against management in a public confrontation that involved considerable political risk.

But none of this matters if, at the same time, Mr. Rockefeller has weakened his chances of winning his party's nomination. For there are few labor leaders, or even rank-and-file union members, who go as delegates to a Republican convention. His intervention in the strike will only confirm among the delegates a "liberalism" they already suspected and find noxious.

So Rockefeller and his friends must wait and see. His allies among such modern GOP leaders as the governors of Oregon, Maryland, Washington and New Mexico, hope that time is on his side, that Nixon will stumble, that they will be given evidence in the polls, perhaps after the Oregon primary, to convince reluctant fellow-Republicans that Rockefeller – like him or not – has the best chance of winning the election.

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The Slaughter Goes On

For the embattled half-million Americans in Vietnam, Dr. Johnson last week ordered an emergency transfusion of 10,500 more combat troops, hopefully in time for the Viet Cong's second strike. Physician, heal thyself! After three years of escalating the war, things are worse than ever. In three years' bombing of North Vietnam, the US Air Force has let loose almost two million tons of explosives on that wretched country – close to one ton per North Vietnamese family, three times the bomb tonnage the USAF dropped in the Korean war, and almost equal to all the bombs dropped by US forces during World War II. The bombing of North Vietnam has steadily spiraled and lately has concentrated on the jungle trails that bring military supplies and men South. But it didn't need a year-old Rand Corporation study, tardily declassified last week, to prove that "the level of infiltration has not been reduced sufficiently to prevent North Vietnam from helping to maintain a combat force in the South strong enough to deny the prospect of a decisive military victory to the US and its allies in the foreseeable future." In the year since that report was written, both sides in the war have increased their military stakes greatly, but all the bombing has failed to stop North Vietnam and its allies keeping pace with American escalation. Now the Marines at Khe Sanh face 30-ton Soviet tanks (how did *they* get through, on a pack mule?) and North Vietnam also has Soviet bombers able to pound the South's cities if they wish. North Vietnam, however, hints it prefers leaving that sort of destruction to the US Air Force, which did its best to wipe out Ben Tre, a delta town 50 miles below Saigon. Helicopter and fighter-bomber attacks on Ben Tre were directed by Air Force Major Chester L. Brown of Erie, Pa., who explained to the Associated Press that "it became necessary to destroy the town in order to save it" and that it was "a pity about the civilians," of whom about 1,000 were killed and 8,000 left homeless.

The smashing of Ben Tre is an exploit with echoes elsewhere in the South, including Saigon, where US helicopters fired rockets into at least one heavily populated area because some 50 Viet Cong were lurking there. One rocket killed all four children of one civilian family. As Major Brown remarked at Ben Tre, civilians, unlike Viet Cong, "don't know where to hide." Probably no one will ever know how many of South Vietnam's homeless civilians owe their plight to Viet Cong attacks, and how many to the US Air Force, but the refugees now total close to a million and a half, a sensational 50 percent increase in less than two weeks.

Both sides have made great claims of vast killings in the recent fighting. The American boast was that the Viet Cong lost more than 30,000 dead. Hanoi, not to be outdone, claimed to have "wiped out" 40,000 South Vietnamese soldiers. Both sets of statistics are hopelessly suspect, as the worst sufferers are probably civilians. Because it failed to protect its people, the Saigon government's prestige is at its lowest point since the hated Diem regime fell, in 1963. And the North Vietnamese newspaper *Nhan Dan* points out, with brutal satisfaction, that the US in order to cope with Viet Cong attacks finds itself compelled to use "more troops, more aircraft and more barbarous methods which in turn further incense the urban people." So far, more than 800 planes are admitted lost over North Vietnam and more than 230 over South Vietnam. The death toll to date of American soldiers is well over 17,000. North Vietnam and the Viet Cong can replace their own heavy losses, so no end of the war is possible through attrition, which seemed to be General Westmoreland's hope, until he suddenly found himself in a trap smelling very like Dien Bien Phu.

United Nations Secretary General U Thant said last week that if the US unconditionally stopped bombing North Vietnam for about two weeks, Hanoi would begin meaningful negotiations. But Secretary Rusk countered on February 14 with a statement that, "At no time has Hanoi indicated publicly or privately that it will refrain from taking military advantage of any cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam." In January a "foreign emissary" went to Hanoi at the President's request and put the point to the North Vietnamese government but failed to get what's called an acceptable response, which prompted Mr. Johnson to say the other day, "We have gone just as far as decent and honorable people can go."

Yet on February 7, North Vietnamese Prime Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh said if American attacks on the North cease "unconditionally," North Vietnam will discuss a "settlement of the Vietnam problem on the basis of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Vietnam." These provided for simultaneous cease-fire and cessation of hostilities, withdrawal and regrouping of forces, a ban on introducing any troops and arms reinforcements and additional military personnel, liberation and repatriation of all prisoners, and no reprisals. A "final declaration" called for internationally supervised general elections in July 1956, elections which were never held – one reason there's a Vietnam war now. Trinh's and other North Vietnamese statements on negotiations present Mr. Johnson with both a risk and an opportunity. Talks wouldn't mean an immediate or even early cease-fire, the North might continue sending more troops and arms South. But is the risk so great when it's now beyond doubt that bombing the North doesn't get results anyway; doesn't affect the infiltration in any meaningful way? That being so, shouldn't the chance be grasped to get peace talks going at last?

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Banking on Ford

It is taken for granted that many congressmen have something going for them back home – a law firm, a real estate business, an insurance agency. But after the unpleasantness over Adam Clayton Powell, Sen. Thomas Dodd and Sen. Edward Long of Missouri, some Republican freshmen persuaded their House leader, Gerald Ford of Michigan, to help them get an ethics committee established. They succeeded.

Then on January 22, Ford was named a director of the Old Kent Bank and Trust Co. of Grand Rapids, Mich., the largest bank in his district and one of the most powerful in the state. "I don't see any ethical problems whatsoever," Ford said. "I can do the [director's] job. I can be in Grand Rapids for the meetings and in my judgment it is a mutual beneficial association that will contribute to my knowledge. I hope I can contribute to solving the problems that they [the bankers] find as a result of our actions in the Congress." The bank's president, Richard M. Gillett, a contributing Republican, was equally frank: "More members of Congress ought to be doing things like this. We feel that with the real urban problems we have, it was in our interest and in the interest of Grand Rapids to have invited the congressman to become a member of our board. There should be better cooperation between us and the Congress, and there is no better way for a congressman to learn about our economic and social problems."

The directors of the bank, which has assets of more than $500 million, created a new vacancy on their board especially for Ford. In order to accept their appointment, Ford was required to buy 100 shares of stock, at $33 a share, which he did. As a director he will get a fee of $1,000 a year for attending a maximum of four board meetings a year.

The Old Kent Bank and Trust Co., although not a national bank, is affected by all federal banking laws. It will have an interest in any new bank legislation. Aside from those immediate interests, Old Kent does a great deal of business involving federal projects in the area. It is one of the largest developers in the federal urban renewal program for downtown Grand Rapids. Its building stands in Vandenberg Center, which was developed with federal funds. And members of its board include an architect and several businessmen who are government contractors.

ADA Goes for McCarthy

The 65-47 endorsement by the national board of Americans for Democratic Action of Sen. Eugene McCarthy's candidacy was a measure of how deeply the disaffection from President Johnson and his Vietnam policies runs within the white, middle-class "liberal" community. It was never a question of supporting Johnson or toning down the criticism of the Administration's war. The handful of ADA board members who support the President realized this and made no attempt at the February 10 meeting to defend him.

Instead, they aligned themselves with an influential hard core of "pragmatists," almost all of them repelled by the war, but who nevertheless put forth forceful arguments on the basis of political strategy, hoping to preserve what they regard as ADA's reputation as a responsible political vehicle for the liberal-labor-minority coalition within the Democratic Party. They feared this was at stake and fought to save it. They lost, despite threats, since carried out in a number of cases, that a substantial part of ADA's backers from organized labor would pull out if Senator McCarthy were endorsed.

Arrayed against them were the "moralists," who drew their support from two major sources – the chapter representatives from more than a dozen states who flocked into Washington to cast instructed votes, and the academic stars who sit on the national board as at-large members. Together, they comprise a majority. J. Kenneth Galbraith, ADA's national chairman, sounded the keynote for the "moralists" when he said that he'd "have a great deal of difficulty with my conscience" if he didn't vote to endorse the McCarthy candidacy. This was restated in the resolution finally adopted: ". . . if one stands up for an idea one must stand up for the man who espouses it."

A somewhat different force was at work among ADA's local workers. Back in the chapters, emotion is running high this season and the itch to take a crack at LBJ needs to be scratched. But in addition, the rank-and-filers want to prove their organization's relevance to the politics of the late sixties, by taking an open stand that will place them in the mainstream of the activist politics of the white, middle-class "liberal" community. To fail to do this would be to risk even further local decline. McCarthy offered the opportunity they needed to make their organization attractive to thousands looking for a new political outlet. They took it, responding to Joseph Rauh's call for "independent, courageous political leadership." To them, this was as pragmatic as one could be.

The real power on the opposite fence were the union men, some of them founding members of

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ADA, from the leadership ranks of nine unions with some five million members. For them, ADA has been a useful tool to build national support for a wide range of liberal (and labor) objectives, through cooperation with academic celebrities and civil rights leaders. From labor's standpoint, ADA has served well, particularly in Congress where it could always be counted on to produce a scholar to testify before an important congressional hearing, thus complementing organized labor's numbers and money. It worked well for 21 years.

The warnings of Gus Tyler of ILGWU (he called the McCarthy effort "nonproductive" in one of many press conferences he held, each time stressing that the union men there were the only ones with a mass constituency) and Victor Reuther (he took the floor to warn that a McCarthy endorsement would put labor support of ADA in "serious jeopardy") went unheeded, precisely because ADA means something quite different to the grass roots activists who were providing the bulk of the votes.

Still, it was a relatively close vote, and for reasons other than the solid opposition of labor representatives and the serious strategy reservations of a number of founding members. The chief of these reasons is the condition of the McCarthy campaign. Some of the board members might have supported an endorsement if the tempo and style of McCarthy's effort were more to their liking. They found the comment of Judge Dorothy Kenyon, the life-long abortion exponent, apropos. Paraphrasing herself, she likened Senator McCarthy's campaign to a "viable fetus with little chance of survival." She wasn't alone. Elliott Abrams, Campus ADA's national president, opposed the endorsement, a switch from last fall. He acknowledged his change was "partially due to disillusionment over the McCarthy campaign," which has run into local problems in Massachusetts.

Others noted the failure of Senator McCarthy to raise his campaign beyond the single issue of the war. This strikes in particular at the minority groups, and most of the handful of Negro members on ADA's national board voted against endorsement. Bayard Rustin, who said he "voted profoundly against" the endorsement, singled out the "one issue" nature of the campaign as his reason.

What will happen to ADA now?

Obviously, the original coalition is coming apart. By late Monday, three union chiefs had resigned from the national board – I. W. Abel of the Steelworkers, Joseph Beirne of the Communications Workers and Louis Stulberg of the ILGWU (but not David Dubinsky or the Reuthers). On Tuesday, Rep. Henry Gonzales (D, Tex.) and Vice Chairman Leon Keyserling quit the board, Keyserling accusing an "anti-Johnson clique" of a "real or fancied sense of displacement" when President Kennedy was assassinated. In this respect, ADA only reflects what is happening to the liberal-labor-minority coalition nationally. Still, a good many who fought the endorsement – Judge Kenyon, Rustin, Edward Hollander and Robert Nathan, to name a few – will stay to fight another day.

The only man who resigned on the spot was John Roche, Johnson's "house intellectual." And he did it as gracelessly as possible. His remark that by May "McCarthy might have retired to a monastery or given up politics for Lent" and that Roche "was not interested in a trip to a political Disneyland" did his cause and his leader no service. But since he joined the White House staff, his influence in ADA has been minimal and his departure is of little consequence.

For the immediate future, ADA has tied its fate to that of Gene McCarthy. One reason it was free to do so was the decision of Sen. Robert Kennedy to sidestep a confrontation with LBJ in the convention preliminaries (such Kennedy friends as Arthur Schlesinger, Richard Goodwin and Daniel Moynihan, all "New Frontier" expatriates, voted for the endorsement).

If ADA had not done what it did, it would have lost prestige where it needs it most – among the youth, on the campuses, among white, middle-class suburbanites. This is where it must gather strength while trying to find a more effective way to involve the Negro community (except for a few isolated chapters, in particular Chicago's ADA affiliate, Independent Voters of Illinois, ADA has had little success in recruiting large numbers of Negro members).

If Senator McCarthy has reasonable success, ADA will get due credit for the courage it displayed in endorsing his candidacy at a moment when the McCarthy campaign has more than its share of problems.

But ADA will meet again in May, this time at its national convention. By then, New Hampshire, Wisconsin and Massachusetts will be behind Senator McCarthy, as well as some of the state nominating conventions at which McCarthy supporters hope to make a strong bid. One can then better measure whether ADA has helped create a counterforce to LBJ and his policies within the Democratic Party or whether, as the pragmatists charged, it is all a quixotic exercise.

Still further ahead is the basic decision ADA must make in 1968, namely: What to do in the fall if, as many suspect, it is a choice between Johnson and Nixon and Wallace. That's a question ADA shares with millions of others; and it is then, when ADA comes face-to-face with the actual alternatives of 1968, that its decision will have the most impact on the country.

PAUL R. WIECK

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Drugs: Dr. Goddard's Guesstimate

Unlike many cautious bureaucrats, James Goddard, Commissioner of Food and Drugs, is not the least reticent about speaking his mind. He doesn't seem to care that his words are used as knives by his detractors to cut him up. Imagine telling a press conference that "the corner drugstore should be closed down." Or saying that he is not particularly impressed with the dangers of marijuana. Or serving notice on the drug industry that 10 percent of the drugs currently prescribed by physicians will likely be taken off the market because they are ineffective.

Goddard drops such remarks casually and with seeming disregard for a hostile drug industry that waits for him to make a fatal slip. C. Joseph Stetler, the omnipresent pitchman for the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association is always just one step behind Dr. Goddard, confessing Goddard's every perceived error loudly and to everyone who will listen, including Dr. Goddard himself.

Goddard doesn't even see any need to be nice to Mr. Stetler, although his office is always open to PMA officials. Once the Commissioner was asked how the industry makes its views known to FDA. "Largely through the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers' Association," Goddard replied. "PMA is a very effective lobby group in my opinion. They make their presence felt." But then, as if he did not wish that to be understood as a compliment, he added, "I must say I'm sorry it's such a negative organization. I would rather see it take positive, constructive steps, rather than being opposed to everything."

Under President Johnson and departing HEW Secretary John Gardner, Goddard has felt he could be a strong administrator. He enjoys his reputation for boldness. When asked if he didn't think Goddard was too hot a property, Mr. Johnson said no, he was glad to see someone going after the so and so's. Goddard thus speaks from a position of strength, and his influence has been substantial. Goddard and Senator Gaylord Nelson, who has been hard after the drug industry for the last year, together have caused many Americans to lose faith in the ethical drug industry. Seventy-five percent of the New Yorkers polled in January by Roper Research Associates were critical of high drug prices.

But Goddard is not invulnerable. FDA retreated on his premature obituary for the corner drugstore; it assured small pharmacists that there will always be a place for them. Paul Schuette, chief of the press relations staff at FDA, says Dr. Goddard was talking about the future role of the pharmacist as therapy adviser to doctors and patients. "The corner drugstore should be closed down. That is a radical statement but we're talking about a long-term development – 20 years." Reporters may have taken the line out of context as Goddard's office says they did, but Schuette admits with some embarrassment that "we're stuck with that phrase; he did say it."

Goddard toned down his position on marijuana for the benefit of Congress, and the prediction that 10 percent of prescription drugs will be taken off the market in the wake of government efficacy studies now in progress has had to be explained away too by Goddard's aides as a "guesstimate," since the National Academy of Sciences hasn't finished its efficacy studies; the bulk of its findings are still to be released.

Goddard has thus recently been the victim of his own candor, his desire to communicate what he feels is important, sometimes in the absence of hard evidence. His spontaneity occasionally smacks of smugness. Ask Goddard what he thinks his principal contribution has been since he took over at FDA and without hesitation he says, "Revitalizing the organization is certainly one. It's hard to select. We've done so many things in the past year." He's especially enthusiastic about having activated the study in the National Academy of Sciences on drug efficacy. "This is something that the Kefauver-Harris amendments said to the agency thou shalt do. And it hadn't been done, unfortunately, since they neither had the manpower nor, at one point in time, the desire to do it. That's a major accomplishment."

In late January FDA took the first step toward removal from the market of drugs found to be of no medical value, such as chemical agents used to control hemorrhage (rutin, quercetin, hesperidin, bioflavonoids), for which FDA says there is no evidence of effectiveness. There will be more such announcements. But at this point no one knows how many drugs will be affected, not even Dr. Goddard.

The pharmaceutical manufacturers profess themselves puzzled by Goddard's predictions. During discussions between FDA and the drug people a PMA official noted what he perceived to be FDA's inconsistencies. "During the last couple of weeks we have seen newspaper stories to the effect that Dr. Goddard has indicated or estimated that a large number – I believe the number 300 has been mentioned – of drugs will be removed from the market. . . . A while ago, Mr. Goodrich [William W. Goodrich, assistant general counsel, Food and Drug Division, HEW] expressed

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the opinion that probably some changes in labeling will be required for the vast majority of the products under review. . . . Dr. Cannan [Keith Cannan, former chairman of National Research Council's division of medical sciences] . . . said, as I recall, that less than a hundred reports have been transmitted to FDA thus far. Maybe the number is 21. He also said that no one could draw any statistical conclusions from the few reports that have already been submitted. Now, frankly, I think that manufacturers, and the medical profession, can express some puzzlement as to these general conclusions that responsible government officials are making. Either they have access to the reports before they have been transmitted, or else they are merely guessing. If it is the latter, I would question the desirability of doing that. . . . It would be desirable . . . if the responsible government officials did not express judgments or guesses which cannot help but leave a very widespread public impression."

The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers have done more to cloud the issue of drug efficacy than FDA has. The industry knows that a substantial number of drugs are not effective; to have them on the market is a fraud on the public. Goddard's small mistake was in allowing a planning figure to gain publicity and the premature enmity of the drug industry, whose cooperation would be valuable. It has damaged a man whose contribution has been a concern, unheard of in his predecessors, that the public not be subjected to dangerous, ineffective, and overpriced drugs.

David Sanford

Louisiana to Out-of-State Lawyers: Get Out

New Orleans

From Our Special Correspondent

In the Southern civil rights movement, no single group has played so critical a role as the so-called out-of-state lawyers. In dingy offices, in dignified federal courtrooms, in remote Southern jailhouses, these lawyers have performed a function local attorneys have been unwilling, and occasionally unable, to perform. That is, they have represented local Negroes and imported civil rights workers against the barrage of harassments – some petty, some serious – that has been thrown up by die-hard segregationists.

Often this has meant combating arrests on patently bogus charges. But it also has meant grabbing a suitable case and running with it – taking it all the way to the US Supreme Court to establish a milestone of civil rights law. It has also meant protecting the physical well-being of a client; on countless occasions, especially during the hot civil rights summers, the only thing standing between an arrested Negro or white civil rights worker and a jailhouse beating has been a visit or phone call from an out-of-state lawyer. Had such a lawyer been available that fateful June night in Philadelphia, Miss., the chances are excellent that three young men named Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman would be alive today.

So it is that the case of Richard Sobol against Leander Perez and Plaquemines Parish, La., which completed hearings in New Orleans recently, is vitally important. Sobol is chief staff counsel for the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, one of three or four Northern-headquartered groups that have done the great bulk of the civil rights legal work in the South. Although out-of-state lawyers have themselves run into legal trouble at various times, Sobol is the first of them to wind up in court, charged with unauthorized practice of law.

Third in his class at Columbia Law School, the 29-year-old Sobol clerked for a court of appeals judge before joining the prestigious Washington firm of Arnold, Fortas and Porter (now Arnold and Porter). An interesting and lucrative legal career was assured the slender, earnest New Yorker. But the civil rights struggle pricked his conscience. In the summer of 1966 he did a stint with LCDC in New Orleans, and the following summer he returned to New Orleans for an indefinite tour as a civil rights lawyer, "struck by the tremendous impact one well-educated lawyer, working full time, could have on the field of civil rights."

A handful of Louisiana lawyers was swamped with civil rights cases. In his year-and-one-half working full time in Louisiana, Sobol has been responsible for all but a few of the civil rights suits filed in the state, and he currently has over 50 such suits pending in federal courts. None of his clients has spent a single day in jail, a monument to his use of the appeals process; he has handled a number of significant cases, including *Duncan* v *Louisiana*, which Sobol describes as "the first time in 67 years anyone has raised the constitutional question of whether there is a federal right to jury trial in state courts."

Ironically it is the Duncan case, Sobol's first before the Supreme Court, that got him in trouble with Leander Perez and the Louisiana bar. Gary Duncan is a young Negro from Plaquemines Parish (the preserve of boss Perez), who was charged with cruelty to juveniles and later simple battery for allegedly slapping a local white youth on the elbow. In November, Sobol and a Negro lawyer from New Orleans went into Plaquemines to represent Duncan – the first attorneys

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ever to venture into Perez' domain on a civil rights matter. Two months later, when Sobol returned alone to get an appeal bond signed, he was arrested and charged with practicing law without a license. He quickly got the prosecution enjoined and the case removed to federal court. A three-judge panel sat through 10 days of hearings on it late last month.

Richard Sobol presents a perfect test case for the out-of-state lawyer issue. He has never had any intention of settling permanently in Louisiana nor of taking the state bar examination. A member of the New York and Washington, D.C. bars, he is in Louisiana for one purpose: to represent civil rights defendants who would not otherwise be adequately represented. Like almost all other out-of-state lawyers, Sobol has little personal taste for the South. And like them, he has made a considerable financial sacrifice in order to work there. He left Arnold and Porter earning at the rate of $24,000 a year to take an LCDC job paying $9,500; his first year on that job, he had to put up $2,500 of his own money. (Now LCDC's chief staff counsel, Sobol earns an annual salary of $15,000, the most he could hope for.)

Sobol's case is being handled by Alvin Bronstein, recently resigned chief staff counsel of LCDC, and Anthony Amsterdam, a young University of Pennsylvania law professor. They are asking the federal court permanently to enjoin the Plaquemines prosecution of Sobol and to rule Louisiana statutes regulating the practice of law unconstitutional, at least insofar as they apply to out-of-state lawyers. They claim that the statutes are "vague and overbroad" and that Sobol's activity in the Duncan case is "protected by Duncan's Sixth Amendment right to counsel of his choice." The heart of Sobol's contention is that there are not nearly enough Louisiana lawyers willing to defend Negroes and civil rights workers effectively.

In support of these arguments, Sobol's side presented an array of witnesses: Louisiana Negroes saying they can't find local white attorneys to represent them in civil rights matters – and wouldn't really trust them if they could; an Emory University law professor with a study detailing statistically the importance of out-of-state lawyers in civil rights cases; and, most memorably, Louisiana Negro and white lawyers recounting the indignities and threats they have drawn by attempting to represent unpopular defendants.

New Orleans Negro attorney Lolis Elie testified to shocking indignities at the hands of state judge John Rarick, who is now a US congressman and was a candidate in the last Democratic gubernatorial primary. Elie told the court that when he appeared in Clinton some years ago to try a case before Judge Rarick, the judge said to him: "I didn't know they let you coons practice law." Elie also said Rarick kept a burned Ku Klux Klan cross in his office and brushed aside Negro objections to being referred to as "nigger" in his courtroom; according to the judge, said Elie, folks using that term were only exercising their "freedom of speech."

Among the white attorneys supporting Sobol's contention that it is financially and socially hazardous to handle civil rights cases in Louisiana were Ben Smith and John P. Nelson, both of New Orleans. Smith, who worked without compensation as general counsel for COFO in 1964-65, said Negroes distrust local white attorneys "because the attorneys represent the wealthier people in town, the business interests, and because they hold political office and control local law enforcement authorities." Nelson said the average Southern white had "viewed the civil rights movement as a great conspiracy to undermine society, and the lawyer who got involved was part of this conspiracy." The Justice Department has intervened on Sobol's side of the case. Also supporting him, in an amicus brief, are 30 of the nation's leading law firms, including the one he left in Washington.

The burden of the defense against Sobol's charges is being borne by Plaquemines Parish and the state bar association. But the bar association would just as soon drop prosecution of Sobol, and to the consternation of the Plaquemines crowd, it moved to do that on the first day of the hearing; its concern is protecting the state statutes and thereby checking the professional threat that out-of-state lawyers represent. In its brief, the bar association maintains that it alone has the right to determine qualifications for and grant admissions to the Louisiana bar; this right, it says, "is not transferred to the federal government and remains reserved to the state. . . . Hence, the practice of law is a special franchise from the judicial branch of the state government and is not a general right." The defense contends that Louisiana lawyers are able, willing and even eager to do the work Sobol has been doing, and that Sobol, in representing Gary Duncan, did not properly associate himself with Louisiana counsel; Sobol replies, however, that he has always done so.

The judges, hoping to avoid the thorny constitutional issues this case raises, tried persistently to settle it in chambers on nonconstitutional grounds. They failed, but their decision, which may be months away, may take that easy way out – enjoining the prosecution of Sobol but not ruling on the constitutionality of the state statutes or on the right of a citizen to effective counsel of his choosing. The court, as one well-qualified observer of the hearing put it, is in a very uncomfortable spot, "between the Constitution, on the one hand, and the interests of its own constituent group, the bar association, on the other."

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Fighting Crime

Hippie-Busting by the Narcotics Squad

Washington, D.C.

The Narcotics Squad of the Metropolitan Police Department has been busy. Hardly a fortnight has passed in the last year without the arrest of anywhere from 10 to 40 youngsters at a time, in what are called "major narcotics raids." "We're spending 70 percent of our investigative time on hippies," the chief of the Squad announced with pride late in the summer. "We're going to clean this situation up." And that raises some serious questions about law enforcement priorities.

Washington has the fifth largest number of narcotics addicts among the nation's cities, almost all of them heroin dependents. But since the Narcotics Squad began concentrating on arresting youths who *might* be using marijuana and psychedelic drugs (there are more arrests for simply being on premises where marijuana is found, than for possession), the city's problem of "hard" – *i.e.*, addicting – narcotics has spun out of control. Heroin sale has become virtually open in several parts of Washington during the past year. It is easily available to young people, the quality of junk has gone up because of the ready supply, and arrests on hard narcotics charges of any persons except pathetic street corner junkies have become almost unheard of. This city, it should be noted, has no Mafia, no hidden, untouchable syndicate that controls narcotics in the city. Until recently, this has made it possible for police to keep heroin traffic reasonably checked and the few major suppliers of the drug on the run. The President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia noted that in 1964 "drug users accounted for 56 percent of all prostitution-related offenses, 26 percent of the attempted housebreakings and 26 percent of other miscellaneous offenses" presented before the Court of General Sessions.

Members of the Washington Narcotics Squad deny that their new "enforcement emphasis," as they call their concentration on laws relating to marijuana and the hallucinogens, has allowed heroin traffic and its attendant crime to flourish: "We go where the action is. Right now, the action is with the hippies."

The testimony of precinct policemen who say they are spending an inordinate amount of time doing what once was the Narcotics Squad's job and an examination of the Squad's private records give a clearer picture of what has happened to narcotics enforcement in the past year.

"The Squad is spending its time over in Georgetown and around Dupont Circle" (the two largest hippie enclaves), one officer said in a typical reaction from patrolmen who walk beats in the city's tougher precincts. A year ago, heroin traffic was confined to two or three small areas in the officer's precinct; now, he reports, it flourishes in eight or nine locations. "It got so bad we had to put our own men on it. We don't see the Narcotics Squad much any more." In the past three months, precinct officers – mostly beat patrolmen – have made more than 75 percent of all arrests in the city for heroin-related charges. In contrast, during the three months ending a year ago, two-thirds of all heroin-related arrests were made by the Narcotics Squad.

And while the number of narcotics charges for heroin-related offenses is up because of increased activity by precincts, the figures are illusory. Most of the charges represent "narcotics vagrancy" offenses filed against prostitutes known to be addicts or come from arrests of persons on non-narcotics charges who are later found to have either heroin or hypodermic syringes in their possession when searched at the precinct. Since the hippies took up residence, large heroin seizures in the city have become a thing of the past, as have grand jury indictments against persons who traffic in large quantities of addicting drugs.

Meanwhile, almost three out of every four arrests by the Narcotics Squad are being made on charges related to marijuana and hallucinogenic drug activities by young people, leading the managing attorney of the National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union to complain: "The Narcotics Squad is not a Narcotics Squad at all; it's a hippie-busting squad." Last year, members of the Squad informed reporters of at least nine separate undercover investigations of several months each involving police posing as hippies. From these investigations, perhaps 10 persons known to police, drug users and the press as major suppliers of LSD and marijuana were arrested – out of a total of more than 300 suspects taken into custody.

Not atypical of the results of such investigations was the recent raid led by a detective under Narcotics Squad supervision who acknowledged in court that he spent four months posing as a homosexual in a house shared by a dozen young men, most of them transvestites. His "infiltration of the group," as he described his four months of undercover work to a jury, resulted in the arrest of four persons, none of whom even the Narcotics Squad pretended was a major supplier, on Marijuana Tax Act charges; one person on a charge of "maintaining a common nuisance" at the house; two others for "being present in an il-

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legal establishment [the house]"; and one other for possession of obscene pictures.

The latest big raid by the Squad, the result of "countless hours of investigative work," came when more than 20 officers swooped down on a Georgetown psychedelic shop without a search warrant and arrested 37 persons, 30 of them juveniles charged under the city's rarely invoked anti-loitering law for persons under age 18. Three of the juveniles also were charged with possession of marijuana, on the basis of searches police say were permissible because the youths were first arrested on the loitering charge. According to police, more than half of the arrested juveniles arrived at the second-floor shop, which sells psychedelic posters and other artifacts, while the raid (made possible by two US Commissioners' warrants for the arrest of two adults who work at the shop) was in progress. The 30 juveniles were taken into custody despite the fact, as the Squad acknowledged later, that "we had no evidence that they had anything to do with drugs."

Asked later to explain the rationale behind the raid, the Narcotics Squad sergeant who led the posse offered the Squad's philosophy: "Hippies are quite a problem for the city," he said. "People are screaming, ranting and raving to do something about it. We're doing it. . . . It's part of a moral breakdown. These kids have gotten to the point where there is no discipline. . . . When we lock up their children, it makes parents aware of what their sons and daughters are up to. A lot of parents come up here and thank us for locking up their children."

CARL BERNSTEIN

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The Goldberg Spot

by John Osborne

When President Johnson delighted himself and astonished everybody else by persuading Justice Arthur Goldberg to leave the Supreme Court and replace Adlai Stevenson, suddenly dead, as the chief US representative at the United Nations in 1965, the President subscribed to the tradition that we must "always" attest "the faith and firmness of our commitment to the United Nations" by "calling upon distinguished citizens of very high achievement to serve in this honored office." Whether Mr. Johnson is of the same mind now will be known when he chooses a successor to Ambassador Goldberg, who has not denied reports that he has had enough of the "honored office." Whatever the President's choice indicates, the thought must have occurred to him that he could save himself and the next ambassador a lot of trouble if he scrapped the tradition and settled for somebody – a career diplomat, say, or a disciplined veteran of domestic office – who would not consider the appointment either a comedown from prior eminence or a challenge to display independent statesmanship.

The inflation of the UN ambassadorship arises from both law and custom. The 1945 statute which authorizes and to some extent governs participation in UN affairs requires the President to appoint "a representative . . . who shall have the rank and status of ambassador." President Truman eased the dismissal of Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. in 1945 by making him the first "Permanent Representative" and accorded him and his successor, former Republican Senator Warren R. Austin of Vermont, something close to Cabinet status without spelling it out. Austin, a modest man who understood that his job was to do Washington's bidding without cavil and to grace Truman policy with a bipartisan touch, endured a sensational example of the embarrassment to which the American representative is periodically exposed. At the moment in 1948 when President Truman announced his recognition of the new State of Israel, Austin was proclaiming and defending a completely contrary policy on the General Assembly floor. The habit of weeping for abused UN ambassadors had not developed and Austin continued to serve in quiet contentment until 1953 when President Eisenhower gave the job to Henry Cabot Lodge. It has never been the same since.

Eisenhower designated Lodge a member of the Cabinet, ranked him in official protocol second only after the Secretary of State, and let Lodge foster the impression that he spoke at the UN for the President and only at the President's instruction. At the State Department, where Lodge is now ensconced as an ambassador-at-large, the inquirer hears it said that critical accounts of the consequences are "highly colored . . . exaggerated . . . absolute hogwash." These re-

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marks are addressed in particular to the recollections of Robert Murphy, a career diplomat who in the Eisenhower years rode wary herd on Lodge for the State Department. Murphy has written that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles "did not choose to challenge the virtual autonomy which Lodge claimed for his embassy at the UN"; that the Lodge mission in New York "behaved less like an embassy than a second foreign office"; and that Lodge on occasion flatly disobeyed instructions from the department's Bureau of United Nations Affairs (now International Organization Affairs). Murphy's version (in his *Diplomat Among Warriors)* is not hogwash, but it minimizes and omits some pertinent points. Lodge preferred that his orders come from the top, but he snapped to heel when he got them from Eisenhower and Dulles. Although Lodge treated Francis Wilcox, the Assistant Secretary for UN Affairs during much of his tenure, with brutal disdain, he took care to keep a clear line to the bureaucracy through Joseph J. Sisco, a "foreign service" officer who has worked solely on UN matters in Washington and New York since he moved to the department from the CIA in 1951. Sisco was appointed assistant secretary when Goldberg was appointed ambassador in 1965, and he would not be stricken with grief if he were chosen to succeed Goldberg.

No ambassador to the UN has been more thoroughly guarded against the pricks and hazards of the job than Adlai Stevenson was. The Assistant Secretary of State responsible for supporting and instructing him was his friend Harlan Cleveland. At the Kennedy White House and for a time at the Johnson White House, the assistant handling UN matters was his friend Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. At the American Mission in New York, he was surrounded by congenial assistants who included several other tried and loyal friends. Yet he was intermittently unhappy with the job and in it, and there is no evidence that he was any more unhappy under Lyndon Johnson than he had been under John F. Kennedy. For this there were familiar personal reasons as well as reasons of policy and failures of communication. Dealing gently with them in his account of the Kennedy Presidency, *A Thousand Days,* Arthur Schlesinger perceived that there also "were problems inherent in the relationship between Washington and any ambassador to the United Nations." They were the problems of an outsider admitted to the inner councils by presidential favor rather than by functional right. "Cabinet status" without actual Cabinet office and the support of a great department is a dubious asset, as Adlai Stevenson and Arthur Goldberg after him discovered.

The ambassador's dual responsibility to the President and to the Secretary of State makes for friction, no matter how much goodwill all three principals in "the eternal triangle" of White House, State Department and the New York Mission may have for each other. Above all, in Stevenson's case, there were the problems of an ambassador so eminent in his own right that his admirers looked to him for an independent stance which his primary role as a spokesman for his government forbade him to assume.

Never have the effects of the customary inflation been more apparent than they were when Goldberg was appointed. The President's evident pride in the appointment, Goldberg's evident sacrifice in leaving the Supreme Court, and his reputation as a practical liberal with strong views and the strength to assert them combined to encourage the impression that the country had acquired not only a forceful spokesman at the UN but a foreign policy figure who was quite capable of taking over the foreign policy establishment. Goldberg's lack of experience in foreign policy matters was mentioned in passing, but only as something that would hardly inhibit a man of his negotiating talents.

"He will sit in our Cabinet," the President said of Goldberg. "He will always have direct and ready access to, and the full and respectful confidence of, the President of the United States and the Secretary of State." Congress and the press paid more attention to this statement than they did to the President's restrained language when Goldberg was sworn in. Then the President said only that Goldberg's role would be "to express and to interpret and to explain the policies of the United States government." At the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing on the nomination, Clifford Case of New Jersey expressed to Goldberg a hope "that you will not be just another mouthpiece or an instrument for carrying out another's decision," and said he assumed that "you are satisfied as to this point." Goldberg replied that he was, discreetly adding that "I have confidence in the President in the area which you indicate." Newspaper columns blossomed with testaments to Goldberg's powers and prospects. If State Department and CIA "whiz kids" fooled around with him, Doris Fleeson wrote, "there will be a vacant seat in the blackjack game in the United Nations – or other changes as indicated." Evans-Novak billed him as "the odds-on choice to become Secretary of State" and predicted that "in Dean Rusk's State Department, they will batten down the hatches or get blown away by Goldberg."

Nobody got blown away – unless, as might now appear, Goldberg did. He quickly teamed up with Joe Sisco, the new assistant secretary, and the two seem

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to have worked in close harmony. Goldberg took full advantage of his promised access to the President, with a confidence and to an extent that Stevenson never did with either Kennedy or Johnson. Goldberg early advocated a more flexible attitude toward Communist China and less "swinging the club" to line up votes against its admission to the UN, but he bowed to Rusk and swung the club with winning effect when ordered to do so. Three times in February 1966, he made the sensible point that a majority of the governments represented at any reconvened Geneva Conference on Vietnam would decide whether to admit the National Liberation Front as a recognized participant. Months afterward, senior State Department officials were unaware that Goldberg had thus offered his government a way off that particular hook, and neither Johnson nor Rusk has ever mentioned it.

State Department witnesses at a hearing last year did not question Senator Joseph S. Clark's assertion that "there is, and let's face up to it, a difference in philosophy to some extent between Ambassador Goldberg and Secretary Rusk." Clark rather rudely questioned the assignment of Sisco's chief deputy, William B. Buffum, to be Goldberg's chief deputy in New York, on the suspicion that there must be "a conflict of interest" between a career servant of the department and a servant of the ambassador. Replying that he saw "no conflict of interest or loyalties," Buffum recited the conventional and accurate doctrine that "the policy decisions which we are asked to implement, whether they may or may not be completely welcome to the delegation, are our marching orders." He added that he and Goldberg alike had to regard themselves as "instructed members" of the New York Mission, and no senator disputed the statement.

Goldberg is adept at subtle differentiation between policy statements he makes in his "mouthpiece" role and those to which he lends his personal seal. His recorded statements reflect stronger agreement with John Kennedy's dictum that "there are no permanent enemies" and stronger aversion to the concept of "a holy war against communism" in Vietnam and elsewhere than the President and the Secretary of State usually express. But the ambassador's nuances indicate more agreement than disagreement with stated policy. Last November, for instance, at the end of an orthodox summary of American aims in Vietnam (no "holy war," "no permanent military bases . . . no permanent alliances," etc.), he did not have to add but he did add: "That expressed my philosophy."

It seemed until recently that Goldberg would take his leave without the sort of embarrassment that afflicted Ambassador Austin in 1948 and Adlai Stevenson at the time of the Bay of Pigs disaster in 1961. The *Pueblo* fixed that. Goldberg's ringing assurance to the Security Council that the spy ship had been "constantly" and "always" in international waters when the North Koreans seized it was made to sound like a plain, deliberate lie when Secretary McNamara said that Washington did not know where the *Pueblo* had been for 10 days or more before it was seized. Justified questions arose. Had Washington, in classic fashion, "pulled the rug from under" yet another honest and misused ambassador? Had Goldberg, strangely for a lawyer of his renown, innocently neglected to specify – as was later claimed – that he was talking only about the morning of the seizure? Or had he, in the good soldier tradition of his job, knowingly and on orders furthered a deception? According to State Department officials, Goldberg spent a long day and part of the next morning, before his UN performance, in consultation with the President, the Secretary of State and many minions who shared with him every last scrap of information then in Washington's possession. Sisco's staff cites the preparation for the Goldberg statement as an outstanding example of the bureau role in focusing at one point, for the ambassador's benefit, every fact and every view bearing upon any issue to be discussed by him at the UN. The official account, accepted at face value, permits only one conclusion. If there was intended deception, which has not been proved, Goldberg was a party to it and not a victim of it.

Why is Goldberg leaving? A State Department hand with long experience of UN affairs remarked that every UN ambassador has at the start underestimated the job's built-in frustrations and overestimated both the capacity of the UN for effective action and his own capacity to stimulate effective action. "Why not," the old hand said in this context, "just take Mr. Goldberg's word for why?" Mr. Goldberg's word is that he has been disappointed on two scores: the refusal of the Security Council to support the call of a "Geneva Conference" to settle the Vietnam war; and, in larger terms, the UN's failure so far "to deal with the underlying grievances and pressures from which violence erupts . . . to show adequate capacity for peacemaking." In this last, some of his associates believe, lies the clue to Goldberg's sharpest disappointment and a certain disillusion. What he has called the UN's "limited capacity for peacekeeping" attracted him less than his hopes, by now thoroughly dashed, that it and he might become "peacemakers." Early last November, when Goldberg was already speaking of his ambassadorship in the past tense, he told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "I frankly had hoped for a much more constructive and positive role [for] the United Nations when I took on this assignment for our country."

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The University as Employment Agency

by Henry Steele Commager

From Harvard Yard to Madison and Berkeley, students are taking into their own hands and hearts, what university administrators have failed to take into their hands or their minds: the problem of the obligation of the university to private corporations and to government. Students are protesting and, where protests are ineffective, demonstrating against the practice of lending the facilities of the university to recruitment of students by corporations and the military. Sometimes their protest takes the form of forcibly banning recruiters from university facilities, thus exposing them to the wrath of deans and presidents who, unwilling to face the central issue of on-campus recruitment, embrace with enthusiasm the marginal issue of bad manners.

For the explosion of this controversy on campus, the university authorities have only themselves to blame for not formulating any policy which could stand the test of logical scrutiny. Most of them are still sullenly taking refuge in precedent, or involving irrelevant arguments of "freedom of information." Student demonstrations against recruitment are, then, a monument to the absence of foresight and of imagination in university administrators, and an excess of imagination in students. All who are concerned with the academic enterprise will agree that an excess of imagination and of moral passion in the young is to be preferred to the absence of either in their elders.

The basic principle which should govern the relations of the university to recruiters is that which should govern all other activities of the academy. The university is not an employment agency; it is not an adjunct of corporations; it is not an instrument of government. Wherever feasible the university should make available its facilities to legitimate educational enterprises. It is under no obligation whatsoever to make its facilities available to what is not educational.

Guided by this simple principle the university can deal with the awkward problem of recruiting with reasonable consistency and fairness. There are and will be exceptions and borderline cases – as Supreme Court opinions testify daily – exceptions and borderline cases in the interpretation of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. So far, however, none of these borderline cases has caused any difficulties. Students have not protested against recruitment by the Peace Corps, or Head Start, or the United Nations, and it is unlikely that they will. The organizations whose recruiting has precipitated the crisis throughout the academic world are not borderline cases. By no stretch of the imagination can it be alleged that Dow Chemical Company, the Marines or the CIA are educational enterprises, or that they contribute to the educational enterprise. Dow Chemical is a business corporation; its business is to make money, and it recruits students at universities because that is one of the ways it hopes to make money. No university is under any obligation whatever to help Dow Chemical make money. The Marines and the Navy, admirable as they no doubt are, are not educational enterprises. Their business is to fight. The university is an interested party in this enterprise, just as it is an interested party in tax collecting or in the maintenance of law and order, but it is under no more obligation to lend its facilities to the Marines and the Navy than it is to lend them to the Department

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of the Treasury or the Department of Justice.

But, it is asserted, every student has a right to hear what these, and other, organizations have to say. So they have, and a university which sought to deny them this right would be derelict in its duty to its students, and to its own character. The argument is, however, wholly irrelevant to the situation which confronts us. Every student has a right to a great many things that the university is not obliged to provide. He has a right to read all newspapers, all magazines and all books, but the university is not obliged to provide him with all newspapers, magazines and books. It subscribes to *The New York Times* and *Foreign Affairs*, not to *Playboy*. Any student who wants to read that can buy it at the local newsstand, but anyone who argued that the principle of free access to information required the university library to subscribe to all publications would be regarded as bereft of his senses. So any student who wants to hear what Dow Chemical or the CIA wants to say could, without serious inconvenience, visit them off-campus. Dow Chemical, like all corporations, can rent space in local office buildings just as it buys space in local newspapers. The Marines and the CIA can use the local post office to conduct interviews. Except at a very few colleges, so remote from civilization that there are neither stores nor offices nor post offices available, no student (and no recruiter) will be seriously inconvenienced if universities adopt the common-sense rule of confining the use of their facilities to purposes incontrovertibly educational.

Balanced against what is merely ingrained habit, or, at the most, inconvenience to a few students of walking a few blocks to an office building or post office, are two considerations of importance. First is the principle (if it rises to the dignity of that), that the college should not throw open its facilities indiscriminately to all comers – business, religious, fraternal, political, military – for if it did, it would find those facilities swamped. It must and in fact it does, even now, discriminate. Even those who defend most ardently the "right" of students to interview Dow Chemical are not prepared to provide facilities for the Rotary, the Lions and the Kiwanis, the Elks and the Masons and the Woodmen of the World, the Baptists, the Mormons and the Jehovah's Witnesses, and so on *ad infinitum*. The only sound basis for discrimination is educational. The second principle is more fundamental. When the university is called upon to weigh the conflicting claims of those who plead habit or convenience, against those who plead deep moral convictions – moral convictions which are shared by a large segment of our society and are therefore neither eccentric nor perverse – it should not hesitate to tip the balance on the side of moral convictions. Certainly it is unworthy of the academy to drift – or to allow itself to be maneuvered into – a position where out of stubbornness, out of thoughtlessness, out of inertia, it flouts the legitimate moral sentiments of its students and its faculty. To argue that some students may entertain moral convictions about seeing recruiters on-campus rather than off-campus is frivolous, for it ascribes moral significance to what is a mere matter of personal convenience.

Some institutions, prepared to concede that they are not under any obligation to provide facilities for recruiting to private corporations, do insist, or at least assert, that they have some kind of moral obligation to cooperate with government, especially at a time of crisis and war. Therefore, they add, even though government has ample facilities already available to it in federal, state and local government buildings, the university should stand ready to lend its premises to government recruiters. This is a plausible argument when used selectively, but not persuasive when applied indiscriminately.

Time and again in the past, the university has acknowledged an obligation to cooperate with state and national government – and keep in mind that what we are considering here is not any legal obligation to obey the law, but a voluntary cooperation which is beyond the obligation of the law. Does it follow from past and current practice, that the university has an obligation to cooperate with every branch, every department, every bureau of government for any and all purposes?

Such a conclusion is untenable, and universities have already rejected it. Few universities are prepared to make available to snooping committees of legislatures, or even to the FBI, the names of members of all student organizations. Many have refused to provide draft boards with records of student grades. No self-respecting university now would cooperate with un-American activities committees, state or national, in investigating professors. Nor are universities under obligation to lend their facilities indiscriminately to the enforcement of laws. The laws of Massachusetts (and until recently of Connecticut) made use of contraceptives by anyone, single or married, a misdemeanor; it is scarcely conceivable that any university in that state, public or private, would entertain a request from state law enforcement agencies to help discover and bring to justice members of faculty or student body who violate these laws. Nor do universities yield, generally, to the plea of convenience. If students want information on taxes, they expect to go to the local tax authorities, or perhaps to a bank; if they want information on voting they go to the town hall; if they want to take out a driver's license, they go to the local police. The universities are not expected to provide these services for the students, or even to provide the facilities where these particular

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government agencies can give out "information."

Even when it comes to carrying on scientific research, which is clearly educational in character, universities do not casually or indiscriminately make available their offices and laboratories or libraries, but select what is valuable to *them*, and then draw up contracts which carefully safeguard the right of the university to supervise the research, protect scholars and avoid secrecy, and which provide, too, for compensation for the use of academic facilities.

Does the university then have the right – the moral right, for the legal is clearly beyond dispute – to decide with which governmental activities it will cooperate? Does it have the right to say Yes to the Peace Corps, but No to the Marines; Yes to the Smithsonian Institution, but No to the CIA?

Let us consider – because it is the most controversial of them all – the obligation of the university to the CIA.

The readiness of the university to lend its facilities, and its good name, to the CIA is the most notorious example of the fix in which it finds itself when it blindly follows the principle of the Open Door to all government agencies. For the CIA is, by definition, subversive of the academy. Its business is subversion at home as well as abroad, and by giving it a free hand and ample money, the Congress has endorsed this function. It has, by its own admission, subverted universities, scholars, student organizations, research, publications, even churches and philanthropic institutions. Its whole character is at war with what the university stands for. It loves secrecy, but the university flourishes only in the light. It takes refuge in anonymity, but the university must know the credentials of those to whom it gives its confidence. It is chauvinistic, but the university is by its nature cosmopolitan and international. It works not to find and certainly not to proclaim truth, but the major purpose of the university is to extend the frontiers of truth.

Clearly the university is under no obligation to collaborate with the CIA simply because it is a government agency. This conclusion has not only the sanction of centuries of the history of universities; it has legal sanction as well. For to the argument that the university should not look beyond the official credentials of an agency of the government – an argument advanced with considerable earnestness by those who wish to avoid the moral issue – we must consider the counterargument of the legal principle adopted by the United States at the time of the Nuremberg War Crimes trials. The official American position, submitted by Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, was quite simply that no citizen is bound to accept as legal and valid every act of his government, nor can he avoid responsibility for his conduct by placing responsibility on the government. This position was accepted by the Tribunal, and under it men like Albert Speer, Minister of Munitions, were found guilty. It is not necessary to argue that the CIA is violating international law; it is enough to recognize the validity of the principle that institutions, such as universities, are not precluded from inquiring into the credentials of such branches of the government as make demands upon them.

Whatever we may think about the larger place of the CIA in the scheme of national defense, we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that it is degrading for the university to lend its facilities, and a reputation painfully won over a period of 800 years, to cooperate in its own subversion. It is degrading for it to extend the hand of fellowship to those who are engaged in perverting its character.

Even those who are prepared to concede in principle the right of students to oppose corporate or military recruiting on campus, deplore the manner in which they have asserted, or demonstrated, that right. Almost everywhere student demonstrations have been accompanied by bad manners, and in some places by force and violence. Now it is very wrong for the young to display discourtesy in these situations, and quite intolerable for them to resort to violence, even the somewhat negative violence of refusing access to a recruiting-office room. Clearly the young should model themselves here on those who are older and wiser, model themselves on the spokesmen and representatives of our nation, on whom rests ultimate responsibility for the maintenance of an orderly society. What a pity they do not follow the example, in their protests, of distinguished statesmen like Senators Russell Long and John Stennis, who think all dissenters should be jailed; of presidential candidate George Wallace who thinks they should be shot; or of Rep. Mendel Rivers of South Carolina who thinks the proper response to flag burning is burning the Bill of Rights. What a pity they do not model themselves on official defenders of law and order like the police of Watts, Cleveland, Detroit, Newark and Philadelphia, or the

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US Marshals in Washington. How distressing they do not conform to the models of that military who try so hard to enlist them, "General-Bomb-Them-Back-to-the-Stone Age" LeMay, for example, or the Air Force officers who habitually fly over Communist China in violation of international law. How much wiser they would be if they studied the conduct of the CIA whose interests their deans so sedulously protect, and who have never been known to resort to violence, and who conduct their operations in some 60 countries throughout the globe with the nicest regard to the legal amenities. How it would improve their characters if instead of milling about the campus in futile demonstrations they resorted to their libraries and read how their government eschewed violence and championed law at the time of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, or of the intervention by Marines in Guatemala and Santo Domingo. How much wiser they would be if they studied the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, or the Charter of the United Nations and reflected on their own government's faithfulness in their commitment to these renunciations of war. But we should remember that students are young, and that they have not had the training and experience which has made their rulers such models of moderation and of reason.

On this whole matter of discourtesy and violence that so often accompanies demonstrations it is relevant to recall what the Rev. Samuel J. May – he was uncle to the Little Women – wrote to his friend the Rev. William Ellery Channing about the demonstrations of abolitionists against slavery: "You must not expect those who have left to take up this great cause [of abolition] that they will plead it in all that seemliness of phrase which the scholars . . . might use. But the scholars and the clergy and the statesmen had done nothing. We abolitionists are what we are – babes, sucklings, obscure men, silly women, publicans, sinners, and we shall manage the matter we have taken in hand just as might be expected of such persons as we are. It is unbecoming in abler men who stood by, and would do nothing, to complain of us because we manage this matter no better."

To this Dr. Channing answered in words that apply to demonstrators against the Vietnam war as against the abolitionists: "The great interests of humanity do not lose their claims on us because sometimes injudiciously maintained."

Indeed they do not. Yet more and more those in authority, in the academy as in government, are avoiding moral issues and taking refuge in questions of conduct or of manners. Instead of falling back on the familiar principle, "I disagree with what you say but shall defend to the death your right to say it," they substitute, "I may agree with you, but I disapprove profoundly of the manner in which you say it."

What is this silence that has fallen on the leadership of the university – presidents, deans, boards of trustees and regents alike? The leaders of the religious community have spoken out boldly enough – heads of great theological seminaries, distinguished theologians and clergymen. The scientific community has taken a strong stand on the moral issues of the war and of nuclear weapons, Nobel Prize winners, heads of great scientific organizations. The rank and file of the academic community, teachers, scholars, students, have seen that here are moral issues that must be faced, and have wrestled with them. But from Cambridge to Berkeley, from Madison to Baton Rouge, not a single president of a great university has taken a public stand on what is the greatest moral issue of our time.

Are they silent because they are bemused by the notion that with their position they take a vow of moral continence? They did not so reason in the past – not at the time of the two World Wars, not during discussions of the League of Nations, or of communism. Is it because they fear that if they spoke out like independent men, they would somehow "commit" their institutions? If so they are mistaken in fact and logic. No president can commit his university, which consists of faculty and students, to a moral position, or a political. No one supposes that a senator who speaks out somehow commits the United States Senate, or that a judge who speaks his mind commits the Supreme Court, or even that a business executive can commit his corporation and his stockholders to political positions. Why should presidents or deans indulge in the vanity of supposing that they can somehow commit great universities? Yet here they stand numbed by timidity, taking refuge from the obligation to confront great moral questions by escaping into the easy activity of applying petty disciplinary measures to students who embarrass them.

If presidents, deans, trustees and regents are unwilling or unable to protect and exalt the dignity of the university, they should be grateful to students who have remembered it and exalted it. If universities have refused to face the major moral issues of our day they should rejoice that they have, somehow, helped to produce students who are neither paralyzed nor timid, who are sensitive to moral issues and prepared to respond to them, however convulsively.

On this matter of recruitment, as on the larger issues of the relation of the academy to the moral problems which glare upon us from every quarter of the horizon, this generation of university presidents, so respectable, so cautious, may yet hear from their own students that immortal taunt of Henri IV: "Go hang yourself, brave Crillon; we fought at Arques and you were not there."

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LAOS

The Fiction of Neutrality

by Tran Van Dinh

Lang Vei was one of the oldest US Special Forces camps in South Vietnam. Established along the Lao-Vietnamese border, four miles southwest of Khe Sanh, it was a control point on the western end of an important North Vietnamese supply line on strategic Highway 9. Besides its importance as a surveillance and intelligence post, the camp had an airstrip that had been Khe Sanh's main source of supplies. Lang Vei was defended by a 300-man force which included 25 Special Forces American soldiers; the rest "irregular" Vietnamese, Montagnards of the Brou tribe and Laotian scouts. On February 7, 1968, Lang Vei was overrun by a North Vietnamese force which for the first time used Soviet-made PT-76 light tanks of latest design equipped with flame throwers, machine guns, 76 mm cannons and searchlights. Despite all the saturation bombings by B-52s of the Ho Chi Minh trail in Laos, the North Vietnamese managed to bring down heavy artillery and tanks, perhaps on bicycles, perhaps on the backs of men. When Lang Vei fell, the 200 survivors escaped to Khe Sanh, where they were stripped of their weapons and turned out to the North Vietnamese controlled jungles. Later, on order from Saigon, they got some help. They were denied a "heroes' welcome" because they were not officially soldiers. They were "irregulars" (except for the Americans) doing the irregular job of penetrating Laos.

Commented *Nhan Dan* (the North Vietnamese party paper) on February 10: "President Johnson and his military advisers are afraid of a Dien Bien Phu. But if they think Khe Sanh is like Dien Bien Phu then the battle of Lang Vei is really a repetition of the battle of Doc Lap [Independence] Hill." The slope known as Doc Lap was the strongpoint Gabrielle of the French fortress Dien Bien Phu which fell in May 1954 after a siege of 55 days.

At any rate, the fall of Lang Vei will force the US command in Saigon to try to establish another similar post near the Lao border on Highway 9, and thereby extending American de facto occupation of Laos. Since the US bombing of North Vietnam in February 1965, and subsequent participation of North Vietnamese troops in the fighting around Khe Sanh in the South, communist Pathet Lao forces in Laos have become increasingly important. An undeclared war is being fought along the Laotian portion of the 700-mile-long Ho Chi Minh trail, between the North Vietnamese and the Pathet Lao on one side, and the US and its allies – South Vietnam and Thailand – on the other. The war remains undeclared in order to keep a façade of neutrality for Laos. But attempting to stop North Vietnamese infiltrations along the Ho Chi Minh trail by bombing requires ground spotters, in this case, US Special Forces posts established along the ill-defined Lao-Vietnamese border. These Special Forces (Green Berets) depend in turn on a series of Royal Lao Army outposts of battalion (300-man) size for their intelligence. One of these posts, manned by the Royal Lao 33rd battalion, at Ban Houei Sane (2.5 miles from the border of South Vietnam, nine miles west of Khe Sanh) was overrun by the Pathet Lao-North Vietnamese forces on January 24 this year. The small Lao Air Force, equipped with old American T-28s, participated in the bombing and reconnaissance operations, with some assistance from "Air America," a "civilian" airline financed by the CIA and the Pentagon.

The South Vietnam Air Force does not play a significant role here, occupied as it is with other operations, mainly smuggling. A recent opium smuggling scandal involved Colonel Khu Duc Hung, the South Vietnamese military attaché in the Laotian administrative capital, Vientiane. The then South Vietnamese ambassador to Laos, Pham Trong Nhan, a friend of mine, asked Saigon to recall Colonel Hung. Instead, Saigon dismissed the ambassador. Profits from the South Vietnamese Air Force's opium and gold rackets and other extracurricular activities run into millions of dollars, most of which goes to top politicians in Saigon. General Duong Van Minh (Big Minh), exiled in Bangkok, told the *Far Eastern Economic Review* last August that a South Vietnamese official was dismissed for confiscating two tons of opium.

Helicopters are used to carry commando troops to be

TRAN VAN DINH *was Chargé d'Affaires and Acting Ambassador of Vietnam to the US in 1964.*

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dropped in the Lao "panhandle," the 150-mile-wide corridor which forms the southern part of Laos and which can be easily reached either from Thailand or South Vietnam. Though denied again and again by the US, places in Laos have been bombed by planes taking off from Thailand. Finally, on January 23 the Thai premier, Marshal Thanom Kittikachorn, admitted that US planes, ranging from B-52 strategic bombers to F-105 and F-46 fighter-bombers, and based at six big airfields (Korat, Takli, Udorn, Utapao, Nakorn, Panom) were bombing the Ho Chi Minh trail in Laos, day and night. There are now in Thailand 43,000 US servicemen (about 8,000 more than in January 1967), US Ambassador Leonard Unger said in Bangkok on January 17, and 33,000 of them are Air Force. In December, the US flew 6,722 combat sorties over Laos, compared with 5,692 over North Vietnam. The US sends about 250 fighter bombers daily into Laos, three times the number of aircraft used over North Vietnam.

The bombing of Laos has, of course, brought the war close to China, which charged that on January 7 three "pirate planes" of the US and "Lao rightists" intruded into China and bombed the Miao Ochai area of Yunnan, killing and wounding a number of Chinese and causing serious damage to property. It was the first accusation during the Vietnam war that American planes had killed Chinese in China.

Despite the intensive bombing, 80 percent of North Vietnamese troops and supplies moving along the Ho Chi Minh trail get through to the South. Last November, Thai authorities announced that three North Vietnamese battalions were marching toward the Mekong border and only ground operations in Laos could stop them. Then a Pathet Lao broadcast monitored in Bangkok on January 26 said the US had ordered Lao, Thai and South Vietnamese troops to undertake "mopping up" operations in several areas in Laos.

Last September 7, Defense Secretary McNamara announced that an "anti-infiltration system" would be built along the Vietnamese demilitarized zone (DMZ). The barrier (code name, Project Dye Maker) consists of equipment ranging from barbed-wire to highly sophisticated devices and would cost $750 million. Obviously, in order to be effective it has to be extended into Laos, thus further undermining Laotian neutrality, which Laos Prime Minister Souvanna Phouma is trying to maintain. When he visited the US last November, he said: "I have always opposed the installation of a barrier because it would not be effective. Also it would involve a violation of the neutrality of Laos by the Americans. There is another reason. We are seeking to limit the conflict. A barrier into Laos will expand the conflict into Laos and perhaps into Thailand." He later repeated his objections in Vientiane.

The seriousness of the Lao situation was shown when the Pathet Lao-North Vietnamese forces seized control of the Nam Bac valley on January 12. Nam Bac, taken by the Royal Lao Army in October 1966, is about 60 miles north of the royal capital and was a bastion of the Lao government. Its 4,000 defenders retreated into the jungle. The assault on the post was preceded by heavy mortar fire. Announcing the loss of Nam Bac, the Lao government spokesman, Finance Minister Sisouk No Champassak, said that North Vietnam had used Soviet AN-2 planes (vintage 1947) to attack the town of Muong Yut on January 12, "killing four civilians and wounding many." He said two planes were shot down.

At the time of the attack on Nam Bac, the US ambassador to Laos, William H. Sullivan, who played an important role in the 1962 Geneva Agreements, was in Washington, briefing the House Foreign Affairs Committee on January 16. After his closed-door testimony, Representative Clement J. Zablocki (D, Wis.), chairman of the committee, told newsmen the military activity in Laos was just a seasonal upsurge in the sporadic warfare in that country.

But can Premier Souvanna Phouma and Ambassador Sullivan resist the military pressures of the escalating war in Vietnam? The Pathet Lao leader, Prince Souphanouvong, claimed on January 6 that the Pathet Lao controls two-thirds of the territory and one-third of the population of Laos, and that in the rainy season of 1967 and the dry season so far, 10,000 government troops have been put out of action and 260 US planes shot down. As the US has never announced its losses over Laos, it is impossible to verify Souphanouvong's claims. But what one can say with certainty is that no settlement of the war in Vietnam can now leave out of account the existence of the Pathet Lao, without whose participation no genuine neutralization of Laos is possible; and neutralization of Laos is the key to the neutralization of Indochina and Southeast Asia.

The tendency in the United States is to dismiss the Pathet Lao as simply a creature of North Vietnam and to say that all will be well if and when the North Vietnamese troops (estimated by Western sources at 40,000) withdraw from Laos. This assumption denies the effectiveness of a Laotian political and military force carefully organized and patiently led for 23 years by one of the most dedicated Asian revolutionaries – Prince Souphanouvong.

Souphanouvong attended the Lycée Albert Sarraut in Hanoi and in 1937 went to France to study engineering at the Ecole des Ponts et Chaussées. He returned to Indochina in 1939 and entered the French public-works service at a salary of $320 a year, far below the pay of French engineers with the same qualifications. He

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was "astonished to see the piteous position which the Indochinese administration was offering its most gifted children," he wrote in 1943, in a kind of autobiographical article. Souphanouvong was later transferred to Vinh, in the northern part of central Vietnam, the cradle of Vietnamese revolutionaries and scholars.

The August 1945 Viet Minh revolution impressed Souphanouvong. Through Vietnamese friends who were members of Ho Chi Minh's Hanoi government, Souphanouvong got an audience with Ho, who encouraged him to return to Laos to build an independence movement. I met Souphanouvong for the first time in Hue the night of September 30, 1945, when the Viet Minh committee had information that Japanese troops, still in Hue awaiting the arrival of allied troops to whom they were to surrender, might seize the city. I was there as deputy director for special operations of the general staff of the Vietnamese Liberation Army in central Vietnam. Next day, October 1, I and five other officers of the general staff received orders to escort, with a handful of soldiers, the "Laotian prince back to his homeland." On the way to Vientiane, we stopped to recruit Laotian soldiers and partisans. When we passed through Khe Sanh, now the scene of the big North Vietnamese military buildup at the DMZ, we took off our Vietnamese insignia and put on the three-headed elephant emblem of the Lao Liberation Army. Prince Souphanouvong became minister of defense and commander-in-chief of the Lao Liberation Army. His half-brother, Prince Souvanna Phouma, became minister of public works.

In most of the military engagements against the French, who began to return to Laos and occupied some areas in the countryside, Souphanouvong personally led his troops. He loved the dangerous life of a guerrilla fighter. He had great faith in the future of his country. Even at that time, he was preparing a plan for the economic development of the Mekong Valley. His stubborn independence irritated some of his Vietnamese advisers. All decisions were his, though he admired President Ho Chi Minh and had deep affection for the Vietnamese people. On March 21, 1946, after a bloody battle during which the French used planes, bombs and tanks against Laotians equipped with rifles, knives and grenades, the city of Thakhet where Souphanouvong made his headquarters was occupied. Souphanouvong fled across the Mekong to Thailand. In the boat, he was wounded by a bullet from a strafing British Spitfire. One of his Vietnamese advisers was killed, thousands of civilians killed and wounded. At the end of 1946, the French forces re-occupied all the cities in Laos.

Souphanouvong thereupon reorganized his guerrilla units and often crossed the Mekong border to harass the French. But on October 24, 1949, the Laotian government in exile announced its dissolution and the following month a French air transport plane brought Prince Souvanna Phouma and 25 others back to Vientiane to cooperate with the French, who granted Laos semi-independence.

Not long after, Souphanouvong set out on foot to Ho Chi Minh's headquarters in the jungles of North Vietnam, got arms and money and set up the Lao Liberation Committee. On August 13, 1950, the first Resistance Congress convened in the jungles of Laos. The Congress elected a "national resistance government" which Souphanouvong headed, and adopted a 12-point manifesto at the bottom of which appeared the words "Pathet Lao" (Lao Fatherland). Souphanouvong attended the Viet Minh Congress of March 1951 at which was formed the Vietnam Lao Dong (Workers) Party, actually the revived Indochinese Communist Party. The Pathet Lao faithfully followed the Viet Minh type of organization with village, district and province committees.

With the 1954 Geneva Agreements and the temporary partition of Vietnam at the 17th parallel, Laos was recognized as a unitary, independent and neutral state with a single government in Vientiane. The US thereupon poured into Laos America's largest per-capita foreign aid disbursements in Southeast Asia and supported the anti-communists, especially General Phoumi Nosavan to little avail. Civil war broke out, and the anti-communist government in Vientiane was near collapse when in March 1961, President Kennedy, sent Marines to Udorn, the Thai town at the border of Laos.

There was a cease-fire on May 3, 1961 and a second Geneva Conference ended with an agreement which created under Prince Souvanna Phouma a "troika" type neutralist government with cabinet members from the three factions: anti-communist, Pathet Lao, neutralist. Souphanouvong became deputy minister. That didn't last long, the pro-Pathet Lao and anti-US foreign minister was murdered; civil war again broke out, and in April 1963, Souphanouvong left Vientiane with his principal lieutenants, leaving behind only minor Pathet Lao representatives.

As president of the Pathet Lao, Prince Souphanouvong is also his own foreign minister. He speaks fluent Vietnamese, French, English and Thai. He has frequently visited Hanoi, China and Russia where all his children were educated. Early this January, he revisited Moscow and in an interview with *Red Star*, the Soviet Defense Ministry newspaper, said that reports of North Vietnamese troops helping his Army were "rubbish." But in fact Souphanouvong needs the North Vietnamese as much as the North Vietnamese need him against US military penetration into Laos.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

A Gaggle of Geese

The dam has burst. For years, new books about the film have merely trickled out from publishers, in numbers quite inconsistent with the flooding interest in films. (Unlike France, which has been awash with film books for decades.) Now, at last, news of this interest has reached publishers. More film books have been published so far this season than in any season I can remember, and there are at least a dozen more to come this spring. A new series called Cinema World has just been launched jointly by an American and a British publisher; but unfortunately the first three volumes, which have appeared simultaneously, get the series off to a flying thud.* These brief monographs are well produced, with plenty of photographs, and – sensibly – they have been published in both hardbound and paperbound editions, which means one edition for library or gift use and one for their real public: present and recent college students. Other than that, there is not much in these books to praise.

The best of the three is *Losey on Losey*. This is an interview with that director conducted by Tom Milne, co-editor of the series and a member of the British Film Institute (which is associated with the whole enterprise). Milne's book is the best of the lot simply because it is the one in which the "author" writes the least. Most of the time Losey is allowed to speak, as in the much longer interview by Truffaut of Hitchcock that was recently published. Although there is much meandering, Losey tells us about some problems he faced in making his films and some solutions, and gives us some useful observations. (For instance, what he learned about the use of sound while making the opening of *Accident*.) But even this book is marred by the pomposities of the interviewer in his introduction and his questions. Milne's very first line: "To each his own Losey." Just as, presumably, to each his own Blake and Mozart.

A bit further on, Milne writes:

> ". . . Losey was going through a process of evolution, adapting his style to a new, more probing, much warier realization of the complexity of people and problems. . . . The process was not helped by the fact that, right up to *Eve*, Losey was forced to work on subjects not of his choice."

The ludicrousness apparently escapes Milne. Imagine writing of any other kind of artist – poet or novelist – that he was "going through a process of evolution" but that "the process was not helped" because he "was forced to work on subjects not of his choice." The dreadful conditions of most film directors' careers are not to be obscured by such verbal fur as "the process was not helped." The hard fact is that most directors are (possibly) talented hirelings, that – talented or not – they usually feel lucky to be working at all, and that, if they *are* talented, they spend their lives doing the best they can in different sizes of straitjackets. Even in straitjackets, they soon show signs of whatever talent and personality they have; but to talk like Milne, as if the straitjacket were a minor annoyance, is to emit one kind of prevalent critical gush – an attempt to push film-making into an equivalent position with the completely personal arts, which, in the majority of cases, it is not. Losey knows better than his interviewer. Compare his generally hardheaded replies with the gaseous quality of many of Milne's questions.

Visconti, by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, is of some value principally because it contains detailed synopses of Visconti's films. Nowell-Smith's comments are very much in the vein of literary criticism, which is curious, considering his support of the *auteur* theory in which the director is central. Despite this view, he blames Cesare Zavattini the screenwriter – three times – for shortcomings in *Bellissima*. Where was the *auteur*? In fact, Nowell-Smith's extensive commentary on each Visconti film scants its intrinsic cinematic qualities. For example, he gives about 10 pages to character and milieu analysis of *Senso*, in orthodox literary manner, and about a page and a half to what he calls "the technical side," the cinematic elements. I don't necessarily object to this proportion, but I think it noteworthy in a critic who leans to the *auteur* theory.

Some of his attempts to grope toward a film aesthetics show glimmers of cohesion and relevance. But he gives all of four lines to Visconti's very extensive theatre work (in Europe his theatre and opera direction are as well-known as his films); and Nowell-Smith makes no connection between this experience and Visconti's ability to get credible performances from the fisherfolk in *La Terra Trema*. (Another leading neo-realist, De Sica, also got good results with non-actors precisely because of his experience with actors.) And if Milne opens his book with empty pomp, Nowell-Smith closes with it:

> "Above all, [Visconti's] films are works of art. They reveal the world in a particular guise: not, perhaps, how it *is* in an objective sense; nor, for that matter, necessarily how we would like it to be; but how it can be perceived and experienced by a particular individual at a particular time."

Thank you, Geoffrey Nowell-Smith. At last we know what a work of art is.

The worst of these three books is, predictably, Richard Roud's *Godard*. If the *auteur* theory allows us to predict something of a film's quality through knowledge of the director's work, that theory can also be applied to writing *auteurs* and to books. Roud is program

(Continued on page 45)

*Losey on Losey. Edited and introduced by Tom Milne; *Luchino Visconti*, by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith; *Jean-Luc Godard*, by Richard Roud. (Doubleday; $4.95 hardbound, $2.95 paperbound)

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The Worship of Thomas Wolfe

Thomas Wolfe
by Andrew Turnbull
(Scribner; $7.95)

One evening after the Second World War I saw on one of the walls of a restaurant in the Village called the Jumble Shop a little plaque (it may still be there) which said something to the effect that Thomas Wolfe used to eat at that particular table. I remember thinking at the time that if I had come upon it a few years earlier I would have found myself seriously affected to the point of palpitations. For Wolfe had been one of my adolescent literary idols: I had started to read him when I was about sixteen and his works, along with novels of somewhat similar morale and disposition, such as Romain Rolland's "Jean Christophe," had been for a year or two my sense and appropriation of literature.

I was not at all alone. Nor, though it was some time before I exchanged this kind of personal intellectual history, was I alone in the job of getting past him. To extricate yourself from Wolfe was to find yourself taking on literature that was a great deal more difficult and radical, an enterprise of sometimes painful but always exhilarating expansion and change of sensibility, whereas with Wolfe it had been a matter of confirmation and support of what you already knew and felt or thought you wanted to. For Wolfe's novelized autobiographies were *about* the life of literature and sensibility or, more accurately, about the adolescent desire for life to rhapsodize itself into literature ("Oh, lost, and by the wind grieved . . ."). They were about what you felt life ought to be, sentient, eloquent, tragic and alluring.

The contemporary novelists I read after him – Mann, Joyce, Kafka, Proust – had, however, produced artifacts of sensibility and imagination and not descriptions of the quest for their truths; their books were artificial worlds, counterobjects, invocations not to the "life-spirit" as in Wolfe but to their own possibilities of existing as liberating increments to the previously known world. When the gods arrive the half-gods go. I did not so much decide that Wolfe was a bad writer as that he was a lesser one, of a much lower order than those others, and than Hemingway, Faulkner and Fitzgerald, too, with whose names he had more or less been linked in the popular literary opinion of the thirties, which is what I had inherited.

You outgrew Wolfe when you went on not to "form" and "complexity," ex post facto terms which you would not encounter until you ran up against literature instructors, but to the more mature uses of literature, to an understanding (intuitively gained or never really gained at all) that the proper business of the aesthetic is to be something other than an instrument of self-inflation, a lyricization of your appetite for experience. Literature *is* experience, of a kind that life has found itself unable to provide. Whereas for Wolfe and the eager young who adored him – minds struggling against the quotidian, against youthfulness and inexperience and towards the romantic assimilation of *all* pleasure, pain and meaning – writing was primarily an assertion that life was in process of being had, captured, known; it was a way of being larger and more significant than you could be without it.

"I have been steadfast in my devotion to the high, passionate and beautiful things of this world," Wolfe is quoted in Andrew Turnbull's new biography as having once written to his mother. It is the sort of remark one cannot imagine Joyce or Proust or Faulkner ever having made. For what it betrays is the condition of wanting-to-be-an-artist, the state of mind in which to be an artist means precisely to be devoted in Wolfe's way: to "high" and "beautiful" and "passionate" things, which are conceived of as being the proper subjects for the artist's work. It is very much the attitude informing the kind of amateur poetry-making that goes on all over civilized and literate societies, the work of minds for whom poetry is composed of beautiful, *meaningful* thoughts and words. And though Wolfe raised this activity to a scope and intensity far beyond that of most amateurs, and thus became what we might call their house "pro," that was what in the end he remained, a literary layman for whom words like "mighty" and "terrible" and "splendid" and "wondrous" were the building-blocks of imaginative works and what they were about.

That Wolfe, who was not an artist or an important writer, except in the sense that any extreme symptom is important, should be the subject now, nearly thirty years after his death, of a full-scale, worshipful literary biography is a depressing fact but not a surprising one. One would have thought it would have happened before this. For the average cultured mind in this country writers are interesting, and some of them are legends, and legends are nice to read. The legend of Thomas Wolfe, great bearlike man pulsing with life, gargantuan of appetite, bursting with lyric expression, tragically dead at thirty-seven – should be enormously appealing to all those for whom writers are more important than writing and attitudes more significant than acts.

It must be said that Wolfe has found his ideal biographer. Andrew Turnbull's imagination is infinitely smaller than Wolfe's and seems devoid of passion of even a non-aesthetic kind, but it is the sort of imagination one would have to have to conceive a work like this and carry it through. Knowing very little about literature, he relies on the atmosphere: unable to make any kind of useful judgments about Wolfe's work, he settles for assertions about it. And his wide-eyed, adoring, adolescent attitude toward his subject is just the right kind of humus from which a lax and flowery rhetoric, all borrowed

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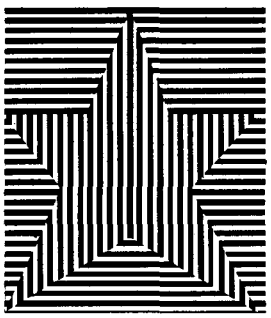

REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

Edited by Richard Pipes

A Russian Research Center Study **$7.95**

"Although more than half a century has passed since the Russian Revolution, the historical literature devoted to it is still in many respects in a rudimentary stage of development. The questions that have been asked of it are less sophisticated than those historians have for some time been in the habit of addressing to such comparable events as the French Revolution of 1789, the European revolutions of 1848, or the totalitarian revolution in Nazi Germany. There are good reasons why this should be the case — after all, the Russian Revolution is still not completed, insofar as the present rulers of Russia are the heirs of the men who in October 1917 made the revolution. Even so, it should be possible now to look at this event with some detachment and perspective and to pose about it questions of the kind that have yielded better understanding when applied to other revolutionary phenomena."
—Editor's Foreword

In the fiftieth anniversary year of the Russian Revolution, a group of scholars assembled in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to discuss the events of the Revolution and their significance. This book presents the proceedings of that conference. The aim of the contributors is to give the reader a *sense* of the Revolution; not so much of what happened (this he can obtain from general histories) but how it was and what it all meant.

Oskar Anweiler — Hannah Arendt — Shlomo Avineri — Isaiah Berlin — E. H. Carr — Alexander Dallin — John Erickson — Merle Fainsod — Marc Ferro — Dietrich Geyer — George Katkov — John Keep — George F. Kennan — Jan M. Meijer — Richard Pipes — Henry L. Roberts — Maximilien Rubel — Leonard Schapiro — Hugh Seton-Watson — John M. Thompson — Adam B. Ulam — Bertram D. Wolfe.

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tropes and cultivated book-lover's sentiments, can rise.

He speaks of "that pity and concern for struggling humanity which would ennoble the writings of Thomas Wolfe." He tells us that Wolfe's "curiosity about people was insatiable," and that "his greatness was his merciless exposure of the tangle of good and evil in us all." When he really lets himself go we learn that "Wolfe's hallmark was this creative additive, his imagination bursting into every pocket of his being and alchemizing his subject matter," and that "Bewildering, unclassifiable, he loomed in the literary heavens like some vast nebula, wanting much in form but packing terrific power," and that "for all his rhetoric he had substance, a closeness to life."

Creative additive. The literary heavens. A closeness to life. Well, Wolfe appeals to people who like that sort of thing, and Turnbull isn't going to let them down. Nor is he going to disappoint them in their expectations of getting close to their hero, poetically close, through images that are *beautiful* and *haunting*. "At times," he writes, "Wolfe's glance was that of a trapped animal begging for release." (Turnbull has a thing about snared creatures; he writes later of Maxwell Perkins' "strange, glinting quality of a fawn caught in a briar bush.") Moving to another plane, he tells us that "Tom stopped believing in the God of his fathers at fourteen or thereabouts. His attention shifting from God the Creator to man the creator, he dreamed of becoming a god himself," and then in case we weren't sure if his hero made it, that "as Wolfe warmed to his favorite subject, his face took on the exaltation of a young god."

I suppose something ought to be said about the purely biographical details. They seem to me to be pretty much in order, though a real Wolfe scholar might find errors or gaps. But Turnbull methodically takes Wolfe through his childhood in North Carolina, his college years, his early struggles as a playwright, his affair with Aline Bernstein (who was "attractive as a bun is attractive, or an apple turnover") and friendship with Perkins, his sudden fame and final illness. He seems to have gone through the relevant documents and talked to the right people, those who knew Wolfe and had mem-

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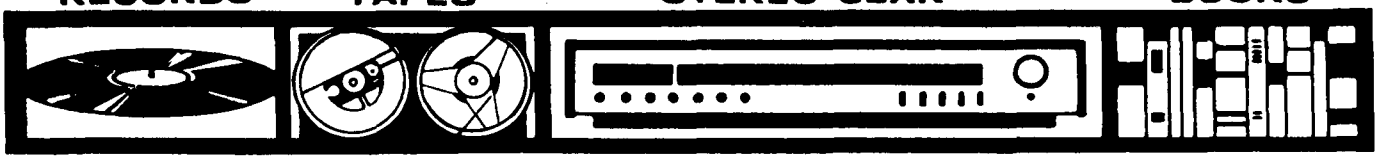

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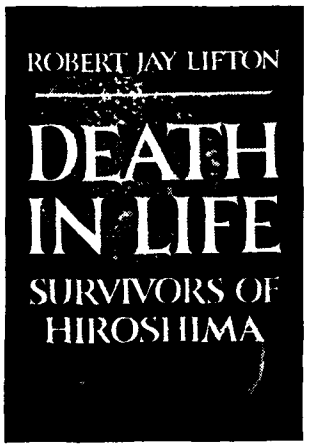

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ories, if not anything memorable to say. But I doubt whether anyone helped Turnbull with the paragraph with which he ends his otherwise uncharacteristically restrained account of Wolfe's illness and death in September, 1938:

"It was a shining day. Across the globe, Neville Chamberlain had just landed at the Munich airport for his peace meeting with Hitler at Berchtesgaden that afternoon. But in Baltimore something had gone out of the universe. There was a rent in nature, a hole against the sky."

There is a letter from Julia Wolfe to her son which Turnbull quotes and which struck me as both an enormously affecting bit of writing and a paragraph which might stand as Wolfe's own sad epitaph. Turnbull offers it without comment, but then it isn't his business to determine what is affecting writing or what might be useful for the gaining of a perspective on his gifted, incomplete, arrested and obsessed subject. Mrs. Wolfe writes:

"I am always high-minded, goes to prove in earlier life I was ambitious, wanted to be at the top of everything, common people or anything cheap disgusted me but circumstances of life caused me to live not my life but a substitute."

A Place for the Genuine

by William Jay Smith

There is a Chinese saying that translation is the reverse side of the brocade, and all Marianne Moore's poetry is in that paradoxical sense translation. It is a carefully wrought imaginative fabric of observation and experience, based on common sense, with which she tries, in Conrad's phrase, "to render the highest kind of justice to the visible world." If she seems to shun

The Complete Poems of Marianne Moore
(Macmillan; Viking; $8.50)

"that radiance which poets / are supposed to have," it is because, as she states in a recent poem:

"Nothing mundane is divine;
Nothing divine is mundane."

The true, original side of the brocade is never glimpsed, only suggested, but it is always there:

"The power of the visible
is the invisible; as even where
no tree of freedom grows,
so-called brute courage knows."

Her protector is Saint Jerome, the patron saint of translators:

"Pacific yet passionate –
for if not both, how
could he be great?
Jerome – reduced by what
he'd been through –
with tapering waist no matter what
he ate,
left us the Vulgate. . . ."

The present volume, containing in addition to previously collected poems, four hitherto uncollected ones along with nine translations from *The Fables of La Fontaine,* is prefaced by Miss Moore's admonition to her reader: "Omissions are not accidents." What then has been left out? Several poems like "Half Deity," "See in the Midst of Fair Leaves," "Walking-Sticks and Paper-Weights and Water Marks," and earlier ones like "Roses Only," all omitted from *Collected Poems,* are again omitted here. Another much discussed poem that appeared in *Selected Poems* as "Black Earth" and again in *Collected Poems* as "Melancton" is dropped, I suppose because Miss Moore now finds its stanzas contrived and facile. There are omissions of individual lines from many poems; usually ones that seem flat and prosaic and will not be missed. There are happily some additions as well as omissions. "The Student," dropped from *Collected Poems,* is back. The section cut from "The Steeple Jack" has been restored. And an early poem "To a Prize Bird" (addressed to Ber-

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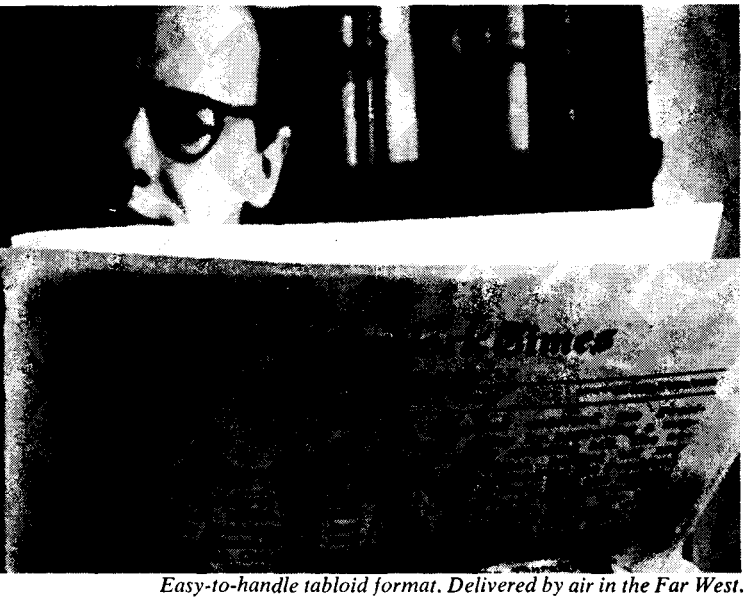

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nard Shaw) is happily revived.

The most serious omission, and the one that is certain to baffle many readers, is the major portion of one of her best known poems. "Poetry" now retains only its first three lines, and these are amended to read:

> "I, too, dislike it.
> Reading it, however, with a
> perfect contempt for it,
> one discovers in
> it, after all, a place for the
> genuine."

In this instance, Miss Moore, perhaps anticipating the disappointment of those readers who have so much of her "literalists of the imagination" and "imaginary gardens with real toads in them," appends the complete original version, along with the notes to it, in a new note. The first three lines of the poem originally read:

> I, too, dislike it: there are things
> that are important beyond all
> this fiddle.
> Reading it, however, with a
> perfect contempt for it, one
> discovers in
> it after all, a place for the
> genuine.

If we are to take Miss Moore seriously, and I think we must, since, however playful, "omissions are not accidents," why has she transformed what was essentially an essay into an epigram? Is it that she is weary of what many pompous critics have made of her poetic dictum? Or is it her feeling that the entire poem merely defines the word "genuine" in a rather prosaic, tedious, and insistent editorial manner; that it is merely illustrative of the phrase "all this fiddle"; that, in a word, it lacks the gusto that she feels poetry should have? I have always thought that this poem was little more than an epigram, and I am happy to see that Miss Moore seems to agree. It may be that she wishes these lines to stand as a kind of coda, an ironic footnote to this complete volume; "after all," set off as it now is by commas, takes on a new emphasis and significance at the time of her eightieth birthday.

Sentir avec ardeur – to feel with ardor – Miss Moore quotes the words (of Madame Boufflers, a contemporary of Rousseau's) in speaking of Tom Fool, the race horse, who has the quality of "submerged magnificence," magnetized by feeling. Many critics, speaking of Miss Moore's work, have done precisely what she has asked them not to do, that is, placed "too stern an intellectual emphasis upon this quality or that," and have failed to see that her best poems are all a framework of feeling. It is no accident that she admires the ballet, that art form which seems at times inhuman, lacking in feeling only because it is *all* feeling. Many years ago Miss Moore wrote of Pavlova that her "humor, esprit, a sense of style – and also a moral quality – make it impossible for her to show off, to be hard, to be dull; the same thing that in life made her self-controlled so that she was not a prison to what she prized." And more recently she addressed Arthur Mitchell, who danced the role of Puck in Balanchine's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, as a "contagious gem of virtuosity." Mobility is for her not only necessary: it is magical.

In a lecture, referring to her poetic practice, Miss Moore said: "When I began writing verse, I regarded flowing continuity as indispensable." Rhythm, she says, was her primary objective. "If I succeeded in embodying a rhythm that preoccupied me, I was satisfied. Uniform line length seemed to me essential as accrediting the satisfactory model stanza and I sometimes ended a line with a hyphen, expecting the reader to maintain the line unbroken (disregarding the hyphen). I have found readers misled by the hyphen, mistaking it as an arcane form of emphasis, so I seldom use it today." Miss Moore apparently now feels that uniform line length is less important than the overall rhythm; she has not hesitated, in many poems reprinted here, to break up a uniform line or stanza in order to avoid hyphenated end-words. At times, she goes too far in her revision, I think, but she appears determined to show that she has not just been counting syllables all these years, as many critics have insisted. "Poetry is a magic of pauses . . ." she maintains. "I do not know what syllabic verse is. I find no appropriate application for it."

Miss Moore's poetry is indeed a translation of emotion, an attempt to objectify feeling, to see, like the hero of her poem, "the rock / crystal thing to see – the startling El Greco / brimming with inner light – that covets nothing that it has let go." It is all wonderfully precise and rewarding. It is only in her actual translation – of *The Fables of La Fontaine* – that the threads of her fabric become confused, jumbled and frayed, and the suggestion of the luminous original disappears. "The rhythm of a translation as motion," she has written, "should suggest the rhythm of the original." Miss Moore's rhythm often does so ingeniously, but more often, I think, she forgets what Alexander Fraser Tytler pointed out in his 18th-century *Essay on the Principles of Translation*, namely, that an imitation of the style of the original text, while always desirable, must always be regulated by the nature or genius of the languages of the original and of the translation. The greater brevity that French admits of by its nature cannot be approximated in English by a heavily Latinate diction. The simple dramatic impact of La Fontaine is often impeded in her English versions by affectation and mannerism, which are very far from the natural conversational tone which Miss Moore advocates in her own work. It is unfortunate that among the nine examples of her translations given here she did not choose to include "The Dog Who Dropped Substance for Shadow," a real triumph.

Yet the years Miss Moore spent translating La Fontaine were certainly not lost, for they helped bring to her own poetry greater directness and vigor, as evidenced in the poems written since. We should all be grateful for the courage, independence, and moral sense which have produced *The Complete Poems*. The book is not just "the approved triumph" that may easily be honored "because something else is small"; it is great because, a result of lifelong restraint and discipline, it so clearly acknowledges "the spiritual forces which have made it."

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Corporate Machiavellis

by Edward T. Chase

Only an Englishman could have written this kind of book about the modern corporation as a political phenomenon. It is so refreshingly un-American, unacademic, stylish. Blithely grappling with some of the more exasperating imponderables of political economy, Mr. Jay, a Cambridge graduate, writes in the tradition of the gentleman dilet-

Management and Machiavelli: An Inquiry Into the Politics of Corporate Life
by Antony Jay
(Holt, Rinehart and Winston; $4.95)

tante, secure in his assumption that a classical education in history is armament enough to confront any question. Because he is a very well-educated humanist, imaginative, funny concrete, he nearly brings it off. And yet for all his courage, his book fails its most important test, that of relevance. You have a premonition of this early on, if you peek first at the modest bibliography. No Veblen, no Means, no Berle; Vance Packard, yes, and Alan Harrington and Peter Drucker; but no Thurman Arnold, no Bazelon, no Heilbroner.

Yet the Veblen-Berle-Bazelon elaborations on the theme of the corporation as a private government have uniquely illuminated the dilemmas of governing a modern industrial society. They have stimulated a literature, a continuing commentary so sophisticated and vital that while it may be ignored by academic economists who insulate themselves from troublesome doubts about fundamentals by their absorption in econometrics and data manipulation, a freewheeling essayist on the subject has to consider it or pay a heavy penalty.

Not that Mr. Jay's familiar but engagingly presented reflections aren't diverting and even useful. One of the originators of the BBC's celebrated "That Was the Week That Was," he is a genuine wit and at bottom an earnest man. "I wrote *Management and Machiavelli* as a result of reading *The Prince* and being struck that this was a valuable management handbook for today," he says. "The more I pursued this persuasion the more clear it became to me that in all important respects corporations are political units analogous to the kingdoms and dukedoms and states of the past, that the same principles of good and bad government, success and failure, growth and decline apply to both. My book takes this starting point and goes on to show how much understanding of corporations and their management can be gained from the study of history. . . ."

Such as what? Well, how to cope with competitors for instance, annihilate them or conciliate them into alliance, nothing in between; or how top executives should handle the personnel problem in a merger; or what should be sought for in leadership qualities; or the ways to create incentive; or how, as the hydrogen bomb removes war as a viable instrument of policy and nations "compete by means of exports instead of armies," gargantuan international corporations may someday come to rival national governments. Mr. Jay reviews managerial techniques for appeasing the loyal executive kicked upstairs, whereby mollification may come through a title, or a large office, just as, in his view, the state gives a faithful servant a peerage or "the privilege of handing the sovereign his breeches at the levée."

It is all miscellany, leading to no important conclusion or new insights. It *is* clever to apply Machiavelli to the modern firm, but at such length it becomes tiresome.

The crucial point about these private governments is that their investment decisions are what shape our world. An essentially unplanned and unmanaged private sector is the chief allocator of our resources. And how is it working? In these days of prosperity we see our biggest cities in mortal jeopardy, disfigured by pollution, pressed to near bankruptcy by welfare and other public service costs, yet offering inadequate services at best and with threat of insurrection just around the corner. Meanwhile, those who are not secure members of the corporate constituency are spectacularly left out: teen-age Negroes and other minority groups whose unemployment rate, when the nation's generally is at 3.5 percent, often is triple that. Thus we witness the Administration, after several years of acute frustration over its own expedients, now wooing the corporations to undertake massive on-the-job training by offering subsidies. Generous as they may be they cannot work in so overwhelmingly a voluntary market system as ours.

The underlying factor of greatest importance is technology: this is the unprecedented force that the corporations harness and direct (though there is scarcely a hint of this in Mr. Jay's book). Can an unplanned "system" with a technology of the greatest complexity whose social repercussions are so vast and unpredictable function effectively, let alone equitably? No, but the alternative need not be the wholly planned society that ends in a totalitarian state. There is a capitalist dictum that runs "once we subordinate the market, either a businessman must become a public official or a public official must become a businessman." But the industrial states of the West are groping for a way past this polarity. The recognition is increasingly widespread that there can be a measure of central coordination among industries and large corporations that results in more rapid economic growth *and a more just and efficient allocation of resources in the public interest.* The technique is indicative planning which is perhaps best exemplified in France

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and the low countries. It can be powerfully buttressed by sophisticated fiscal and monetary policies and by an income policy.

What's more, among officials and social scientists there is an astonishing growth of interest in predicting the future and in social accounting, so-called cost-benefit analysis. The root concern here is that market prices – the private taxation system of the corporations, as Bazelon has put it – do not reflect true social costs and benefits. In the independent world of modern industrial society, the "cheapest" course (by market cost standards) may prove the most expensive. Thus, for one example, the bulldozing of slums is not now undertaken with the equanamity of a few years ago, when the social welfare costs of relocation were not appreciated.

In a word things are not as simple as they were. A successful "inquiry into the politics of corporate life" must now embrace not only consideration of a new kind of corporation but also of an entirely new operating environment. We are moving into an era where the corporation exists in a context of public and private forces not envisioned by Machiavelli, nor by Mr. Jay.

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Tipping the Scale

by Edmund White

Reading *In The Balance* is like smelling camphor for the first time; the book gives off an odor that is slightly offensive, intriguing and unlike anything else.

The novel's narrator is an actress and college girl named Baylor who sleepwalks through a mine-field of terrifying assaults upon her person and her self-respect. A man named Jackson

In The Balance
by M. E. White
(Harper & Row; $4.95)

wants to kill her. Why he does is not disclosed, though there is a suggestion that his animosity may be based on nothing more than boredom or malign caprice. At the beginning of the book he tries to drown her; later, when they are hitching a ride with a friend, he causes the car to swerve over a cliff. The driver dies but Baylor and Jackson survive, their only ill-effects being very bad colds. Jackson terrifies and attracts Baylor; once, after she has just had sex with him, she rolls over and whispers, "kill me."

Other men also have it in for her. She gets a job as an actress in an experimental film and co-stars with an ex-convict and a rapist on loan from the local sanitarium. The real-life antagonisms that mount among the three form the subject of the movie; whenever violence is about to erupt – the rapist comes toward the ex-con with a piece of broken glass in his hand – the director shouts, "Cut!" and the scene dissolves. Baylor drinks heavily, seldom sleeps and the days and nights blend into, as she puts it, "a continuous fiction."

All her life she tells us, her mind has contained a "confusion that could not be violated," in which "world and dreams were the same, a constant fiction, in balance." Under the strain of Jackson's persecution and the shattering experience of making the film, the balance is tipped towards fantasy, and in the closing pages of the novel Baylor is wandering through heavy shrouds of amnesia and distortion. She murders a Mexican truck-driver, or thinks she does; she gets a factory job inspecting eggs, or thinks she does; in the end she is walking on a hill when she is approached by a man, gun in hand, who may be the truck-driver, called back to life, or a policeman or her own nightmare. The final bit of madness is added, Kinbote-like, in the plot summary printed on the book jacket, which describes Baylor's whole odyssey as "both literally and figuratively, the story of a girl's round trip to the dentist's office."

Although the story is told in the first-person, the reader invariably thinks of Baylor as "someone else." He perceives her only from the outside and is shocked from time to time to see the word "I" pop up on the page, for Baylor is a "she," not an "I." Her thoughts are reported, but few of her judgments or feelings (if she has any). Consequentally, the brutal events, so blandly described by her, attack the reader directly and not through the medium of the girl's mind. Since she never becomes a familiar personality, in whom emotions are seen slowly forming, the reader is in as much suspense as to what she will do next as she herself perhaps is. If she cries or insults a friend or drinks herself under the table, these outbursts register as only curious white signals flashing across the black screen of her consciousness. As a child she steals some money, but doesn't know why. Later the man she had wanted to marry dies but she is strangely unmoved. When her aunt commits suicide, she passes through a characteristic progression. At first she feels some genuine grief, but when she starts to explain it to her friends, she twists the story into an absurd lie:

> " 'She hanged herself . . . in the shower.' I faltered, sorting out words from tears. 'There was a trail of blood.'
>
> 'Blood?' Rayburn said.
>
> 'She cut her wrists, too.' Now, this time, the tears did come, and

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only Rayburn seemed unimpressed. With most of my audience still intact, the story continued almost uncontrollably, lavished with a gothic superstructure of psychological detail. When my imagination was finally exhausted, I began to repeat maudlinly, nodding and crying, until I was led away still clutching a warm and soggy tortilla."

The tortilla is the perfect ridiculous touch, and as idiosyncratic of this author as her signature must be. Proust once said that a genuine artist had only one central vision, which he tried to capture in all of his works. The vision, he claimed, wasn't of a moral truth but sometimes of nothing more than a place or a temperament. In Stendhal, the characteristic moment arrives when he is describing a very high place, like the belfry in *The Charterhouse of Parma;* in Dostoevsky, there is always the Dostoevsky woman, self-controlled and civil at first and then suddenly exploding with insolence. If I may put M. E. White in such exalted company, I would say that her moment comes when she mentions the cold that Baylor and Jackson catch after the car accident, or observes the warm tortilla.

Miss White has found a perfect form for her novel. She alternates one chapter from the present with one from the past. Starting in the middle of her tale and proceeding to the conclusion, she interrupts herself in alternate sequences to tell the reader what happened in the first half of the story. In other words, to give her book a conventional time sequence, all you would have to do is take out the alternating sections and shove them to the front of the novel. But the reason the author's deviation from conventional narrative strategy is so effective is that it plunges the reader into exactly the same sort of confusion the main character is experiencing. The narrator of *In The Balance* eventually tells all her secrets but only after she has made us undergo a disorientation similar to her own.

This book, so original and cleanly put together, is in short, a brilliant first novel. Its peculiar tone is switched on in the opening chapter and produces a low hum until the end. Teetering on the high wire of plausibility, it never slips into either reality or pure fantasy; Baylor may lose her balance, but the novel never does. Control is evident in every paragraph. The bits of dialogue may seem opaque or irrational, the narrative may shift crazily from horror to slapstick, yet for all its perversity the book has the confidence and inevitable rightness of a work of art.

Notes on Contributors

William J. Smith *has been appointed Consultant in Poetry to the Library of Congress for the '68-'69 term.* Edward P. Chase, *an editor and writer on public affairs, writes extensively on corporation and technological change.* Edmund White *has just completed a novel,* The Beautiful Room is Empty.

THEATRE

The Unseriousness of Arthur Miller

The Price
by Arthur Miller
(Morosco Theatre)

If Arthur Miller seems old-fashioned today to many seriously interested in the theatre, it is not because he has failed to keep abreast of the latest techniques in playwriting – nobody expects him to compete with La Mama – it is rather because his concerns are so curiously insulated from the world in which we now live. The nation's cities are in total disarray, drowning in swill, torn by violence; our disgraceful involvement in the Vietnam conflict is making large numbers ashamed of being American; the Administration has systematically destroyed our confidence in its credibility and good intentions, perhaps in the democratic process itself; our young are either apathetic and withdrawn or inflamed with fury and frustration; our sense of reality is disintegrating, our illusion of freedom faltering, our expectation of disaster increasing – yet, Arthur Miller, the most public-spirited of dramatists, continues to write social-psychological melodramas about Family Responsibility. I don't mean to suggest it is his subject matter alone that makes all this seem so crashingly irrelevant. After all, fathers and sons still exist in the world, and there are other issues for contemplation beside war and riot. But how can a new play fail to be affected, if only indirectly, by the events of its time? Even the atmosphere of a middle-class living room is charged with special tensions these days. Even conflicts within the family are inevitably informed by the frustrations that are driving the country mad.

As a citizen, Miller is deeply involved in these events; as a playwright, he used to have some connection with the outside world; but he is now choosing to ignore the life around us, and this explains his peculiar insularity of method. His new play, *The Price,* is designed to be a domestic drama in an Ibsenite vein – that is to say, it attempts, through a process of exhumation, to reveal the past and the present simultaneously. But while the play moves backward easily enough to a Depression period thirty years previous, it moves forward only a quarter of an inch; and all that is exhumed – after a great deal of jabbering and jawing and why, why, why – is an empty grave. Ibsen was interested in the effect of the past on the present, as a clue to how mankind got on the wrong track; Miller, on the other hand, is more concerned with the way the present reveals the past. As a result, he writes comfortably only about the thirties and forties, and describes the Depression more vividly, through conversation, than he represents, through action, the living events of his play.

The Price, in short, is more accurately called a memory play than a play about contemporary life: It is pulsing with nostalgia for another time. Some of this nostalgia is evoked in Boris Aronson's skillful rendering of an

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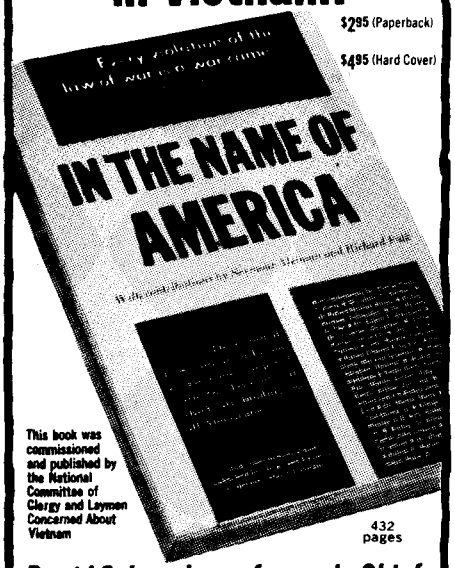
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attic room crammed with old lamps, broken harps, armoires, chests, couches, tables, and gramophones; and the actors are at their most poignant when fingering these dusty objects. Something happened in this room – something Miller has written about three or four times already – involving a father who had a business failure, and two sons torn between their concern for this failure and their impulse to lead their own lives. That Miller keeps returning to this situation suggests that he has not yet worked it out – nor does he work it out here. As a playwright, he seems in the grip of a repetition compulsion which makes *The Price* a composite of *Death of A Salesman, All My Sons,* and *After The Fall,* involving the same family, the same polarities between love and money, the same oblique references to the "system," the same clumsy effort to turn prosaic speech into heightened rhetoric. Even the dialogue seems lifted from earlier Miller plays: "The icebox was empty and the man was sitting there with his mouth open." "We were brought up to succeed. . . . Was there ever no love here?" "One day you're head of the house, head of the table, and the next day you're shit."

The rhetoric improves considerably, however, whenever a secondhand furniture dealer named Solomon is on stage: Although of only tangential importance to *The Price,* he is, by all odds, one of the most effective characters ever devised by this author. A descendant of the grandfather in Odets' *Awake And Sing,* and a close relative of those Jewish clowns imported to Broadway from the Yiddish theatre by Menasha Skulnik, Solomon – though hardly original or profound – reveals an unexpected comic streak in Miller's temperament which I hope he will cultivate. Aphoristic, ancient, a scrupulous bargainer and former acrobat, Solomon takes an infectious delight in doing business, and his sense of conviction provides him with just about the only decent dialogue in the play ("The only thing you can do today without a license is go upstairs and jump out the window").

The other characters, however, seem like refugees from the golden age of television, and so, unfortunately, does the plot. Victor, a policeman, returns to the attic room in which he spent his young manhood; the house is condemned, and the furniture – artifacts of once-prosperous days – is up for sale. This sale brings about a crisis meeting with his brother Walter, a surgeon, whom he hasn't seen for 16 years. A representative of empty American success, Walter selfishly pursued his education and career while Victor sacrificed his opportunities in order to support their impoverished father (it is typical of the play's disconnection from modern moods that Miller's integrity figure is a cop!). Walter's success has not made him happy; he has recently suffered both from a divorce and a nervous breakdown. When he offers Victor an administrative job in his nursing home, Victor refuses to accept gratuities, just as he rejects a profitable tax saving that Victor has devised on the furniture. A series of (interminable) arguments reveal finally that Victor's sacrifice was in vain, and that Walter is not as selfish as everyone supposed. The brothers separate, their quarrel unreconciled, both affected deeply and irremediably by these furniture revelations.

There is a term used in acting to describe the externalizing of emotion called *indicating:* It is a term that accurately describes the writing of *The Price.* Everything is signalled, climaxes are superimposed, and exits are timed for applause rather than as natural departures. When the playwright indicates, it is difficult for actors to avoid indicating, and thus we find perfectly competent performers becoming routine and unconvincing. Harold Gary is excellent in the actor-proof part of Solomon, but the others are entrapped in a Kraft Theatre style of earnestness that finds them screaming at each other for no apparent reason, and expressing a great deal of anguish, desolation, and shame on grounds not supplied by the author.

The play, in short, is not serious. It is solemn, it is determined, but it is not serious. A serious play, in interpreting the lives of its characters, interprets the lives of the auditors, providing images that intensify awareness. But *The Price* is virtually divorced from concerns that any modern audience can recognize for its own. With the comic character of Solomon, Miller, for a moment, turns serious, thus prov-

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ing that laughter can sometimes be a quicker road to reality than pathos. But the play as a whole gives us merely the appearance of significance behind which nothing meaningful is happening – a propped up facade hides rather than reveals the known landscape – and the name of that game, gentlemen, is escapism.

ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

Maverick Senator

Sirs:

Alex Campbell (Feb. 10) apparently would have us believe that Mark Hatfield's career has invariably been one of virtue rewarded; his encomium for this "Horatio Alger," however, overlooks some important aspects of his career. I should like to comment on one of them, his campaign for Oregon secretary of state in 1956, when his opponent was Monroe Sweetland.

Sweetland's long and distinguished career in public service is well known to many of your readers, no doubt, but his dominant role in the revitalizing of the moribund Democratic Party in Oregon has not received the public recognition that it deserves. It was not entirely respectable to be a Democrat in Oregon in the 1940s and early 1950s; only a handful of them sat in the legislature, and Republicans(conservatives all, with the exception of Morse) held every major office in the state. It was a Herculean task to transform the most conservative state on the Pacific coast into a place where it was safe to be a liberal, and it was Monroe Sweetland who undertook and accomplished it. His efforts paid off in a string of victories, beginning with Richard Neuberger's Senate election in 1954; eventually Democrats controlled both US Senate seats, the governorship, three of the four congressional seats, and both houses of the legislature. It was a stunning about-face for Oregon, and Sweetland was the man primarily responsible for it.

Both Sweetland and Hatfield were state senators when they met in the 1956 campaign for secretary of state. Hatfield distinguished himself that year by conducting a vicious campaign of innuendo and vilification against Sweetland, based on the latter's links with various liberal organizations. These links dated from his college days in the 1930s, and included the unpardonable sin of having supported Norman Thomas for President in 1932 and 1936. Hatfield conveniently ignored Sweetland's lengthy and important role in the fight to oust communists from certain labor unions in those same years, a manifestation of his staunch anti-communist posture throughout his career. Hatfield succeeded in making him look like a fellow traveller in the eyes of many Oregon voters, and at the same time pictured himself as the very model of a Christian patriot, vulgarly appealing to religious conservatives in the state by stressing his own Baptist piety. It was a campaign worthy of the 1950 Nixon, and it brought him victory in November. Monroe Sweetland had been on his way to a distinguished career in national politics, or so we hoped (and so he deserved), but Hatfield's scurrilous campaign tactics dealt a lethal blow to that prospect.

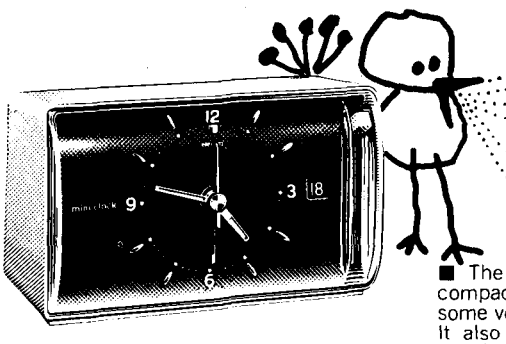
For Oregonians like myself who expected one day to see Monroe Sweetland in the seat Hatfield now occupies, a few more models of the "new Hatfield" will have to come off the assembly line before we can forget 1956.

Charles F. Hinkle
New York, N.Y.

The CP Today

Sirs:

I found much of the reportage in Michael Miles' *The Communist Party Today* (February 3) very interesting, but I was mystified, and even a little miffed, by the tone. A reader cannot feel comfortable with satiric and ironic writing unless he knows the writer's



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viewpoint. If nearly everything is found amusing or otherwise unengaging, one badly needs to know what the writer regards as serious and inspiring. Discussing the New Left, Mr. Miles writes: "Marxism is already the favored analysis of what is considered US imperialism abroad." What is the point of this "what is considered"? To disown the idea, so the FBI can't accuse Mr. Miles of having said it? To dissent from it – so the US is *not* imperialistic? Or to be totally and absolutely non-committal? Mr. Miles seems to believe one can handle a subject without actually touching it.

His treatment of the Resistance is rhetorical in the extreme. "The important thing is to fail." What is the evidence for this extraordinary idea? None is given. "The perfect union of utopianism and revolutionary romanticism is the currently voguish notion of Resistance." This seems to be saying far more than it actually says, for "utopianism" and "revolutionary romanticism" are not contrasting conceptions anyway: the one is generally associated with the other. The word "voguish" (like the word "fashionable") is always used by bad critics to brush off what they will not confront. Resistance (on the current scene) has, on the contrary, a very down to earth meaning: it means tax refusal and defiance of the draft laws. . . . And so on.

Eric Bentley
New York, N. Y.

Henry Noel Brailsford

Sirs:

For a study of the life and works of Henry Noel Brailsford (1873-1958), the English socialist writer and longtime *New Republic* London correspondent, I would appreciate any correspondence and reminiscences.

F. M. Leventhal
Dept. of History
Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

A Modest Proposal

Sirs:

TRB asks for a solution to the mess in Vietnam. I have a modest suggestion for some politician of national stature – one who could command the attention of all the news media. He would declare that he advocates a pull-out, and very shortly, simply on this basis: the recent coordinated assaults by the other side have shown unequivocally that the South Vietnamese have little or no interest in preserving their state. Indeed, they have shown no feeling of statehood. Therefore, unfortunate as it is that so many Americans have given so much, there exists no reason any longer to remain. In a sense, many *have* died in vain although until recently we could not be absolutely certain of this. Now what seems indisputable is that every future death certainly will be in vain.

There would be no loss of face involved in such a declaration. We would be saying, in effect, that while this country has always been willing to fight for a demonstrable good, we have grown wise enough not to fight when it is not worthwhile.

Robert L. Blefko
Kingston, R.I.

Trees and Civil Rights

Sirs:

As one who mentally applauded Mr. Johnson's State of the Union reference to saving the redwoods, I regret that TRB (January 27) chose to express his dissatisfaction with Congress by implying that it is more interested in protecting trees than civil rights. I find both enterprises eminently worthwhile and fail to see why one need be urged at the expense of the other.

Scott K. Lehmann
Chicago, Ill.

They're Still Breathing

Sirs:

Mr. Nader's article, "They're Still Breathing" (*The New Republic*, February 3) suggests that the stock of human resources warrants as much attention as the reserves of oil, natural gas and other material resources. No doubt we need not descend into the mines with Mr. Nader in order to find lung depletion. Certainly he and major insurance companies realize that the death rate from diseases of the respira-

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tory system for city dwellers is significantly different from that of comparable inhabitants of rural areas. The urban-rural differential in life insurance premiums might be a starting point for a tax-subsidy arrangement whereby the polluters pay for lung depletion allowances to factory town dwellers. Precisely such an allowance is made implicitly by insurance companies in the difference between the rates they charge. These revenues might be used instead to boost bond issues to finance construction of "sewer" systems for gaseous waste disposal in the middle of deserts or into the spaces which depleted natural gases once occupied.

Robert A. Dickler
Philadelphia, Pa.

Support Our Flag

Sirs:

Just as the peace movement has adopted the "Support Our Boys" slogan by appending "Bring Them Home Now," so should they initiate the appearance of large numbers of American flags, properly displayed, at all peace functions. Those who wish to burn the American flag or to carry Viet Cong flags will no doubt continue to follow *their* consciences, but those who love our country and want it to abandon its illegal and immoral action, could, by thus combining patriotism with dissent, present a more accurate picture of our true feelings to millions of undecided Americans.

S. Weber
New York, N. Y.

Test Vote

Sirs:

The article "Test Vote," (February 10) about the special election in Brooklyn's 13th District implies the race is only between a Johnson democrat and a McCarthy independent. This is not true. The Republican Party is waging a major campaign to elect Gerry Held, a progressive young urbanist.

You are correct in your implication that President Johnson has much at stake here but the key question is whether the voters of the 13th District will have the courage to switch party lines, and vote for Held, an alert young attorney, who will be responsive to the wishes of the people, not the political bosses who have controlled his district in the past. Brooklyn deserves a change. . . .

Robert S. Kreindler, Co-Chairman
Committee of 10,000 to Elect
Gerry Held to Congress
Brooklyn, N. Y.

"The Graduate"

Sirs:

Stanley Kauffmann went back to see *The Graduate* and it's *still* a milestone in American film history? In "intent"? In "sheer connection with us"? This fable about the victory of innocent youth over corrupt and materialistic middle age, in which a lost young man is saved by the love of a pure young girl? The last artist to make this kind of fairy-tale ending humanly convincing, and therefore artistically valuable, was E. M. Forster in *A Room With A View*. But his Lucy was something a little more complex than a fairy princess, and the forces against her happy ending were ones to be taken seriously – unlike Mike Nichols' Wicked Witch. It is perhaps permissible for critics to fall in love with characters – but not at first sight.

Clara Claiborne Park
Williamstown, Mass.

Sirs:

Mr. Kauffmann's review is in the tradition of romantic optimism. It is quite clear that the final scene on the bus indicates that for Benjamin it is the pursuit and not the relationship that has provided his life with direction, that has given a focus for his energies. After the initial hysteria of escape, Benjamin retreats. He says not two words to the girl who has given up, in an extremely public ritual, values that, whatever their dubious merits, have shaped and controlled her life. He withdraws. . . . And from Elaine's rapidly changing expressions based on Benjamin's denial of her tentative motions to talk, I think *she* recognizes that she just might have changed from one form of social hypocrisy to another, equally defeating kind of self-deception.

Iska Fraidstern
New York City

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Kauffmann, *from page 30*

director for the New York and London Film Festivals, and his comments in the New York program booklets prepared me for this opus.

To begin with, he is factually sloppy. He says:

> "No one in Godard's films has a flat, a home. Or if they do *[sic]*, they have either just moved in or are just about to move out."

This is untrue of *A Married Woman*.

Further, Roud is intellectually pretentious in a way that would be irritating if it were not funny. Early in the book, on pages 8 and 9, he splashes in the names Hegel, Vico, Joyce, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, Marx, and Wittgenstein like credentials. Perhaps he caught this pretentiousness from Godard himself. In *French Cinema* Roy Armes notes the "torrent of cultural allusions" in Godard's films, then says:

> "But these references are not developed and never become more than name-dropping in the tradition of that type of French film criticism which finds it impossible to review a gangster film without reference to Hegel or Kant. . . . One can readily believe Truffaut's account of Godard's reading habits: 'What struck me most about Godard at that time was his way of absorbing books. If we were with friends he would open, in the course of the evening, at least forty books and he always looked at the first page and the last'."

Roud then proceeds to weight his essay with a series of profundities of which this is a fair sample:

> "A preoccupation with formal values or personal themes need not stop a man from being either a humanist or a moralist, or prevent him from tackling political themes."

What college teacher would not slate a sophomore for these false antitheses in a thundering truism? Perhaps this knack for high-sounding emptiness is something else that Roud learned from Godard, whose pronouncements are quoted liberally. One of the latter:

> "Unlike painting and literature, the cinema both gives to life and takes from it, and I try to render this concept in my films."

If that means anything, which I doubt, I suppose it has to do with the almost competitive reality of people, places and objects in films, and it applies to every film ever made, *The Sound of Music* as well as *Alphaville*.

In what is presumably the fundamental intent of this book, critical analysis, Roud is so splattery and scatterbrained that his criticism dissolves as one examines it. The basis of his approach is Hegelian dialectic in a debased and facile reduction, and he uses it in a way that fails to particularize Godard from among other directors. Then, when he gets to the matter of formal analysis, he writes:

> ". . . I would like now to examine pure form in Godard – with the proviso that its purity is conditioned by its impure interaction with the other elements of his work."

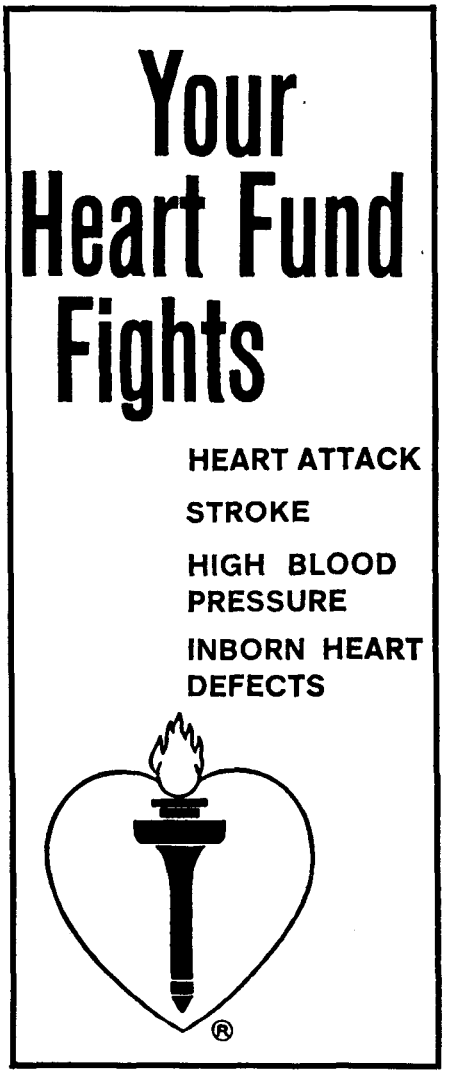
My idea of vengeance on an enemy would be to force him to make sense of that sentence. Roud then gives us, after some unintentionally hilarious statistical analysis of the opening of *Vivre sa Vie*, a description of the way Godard handles the camera in a later scene.

> "It is, in fact, a carefully worked out choreography for the camera, but one that is almost certainly abstract in its effect: that is to say, it does not correspond to any dramatic or expressive necessity. This, to my mind, is no condemnation, though it will be for some. But Godard's subject matter, his content, is strong enough, shall we say, to support any amount of abstraction he cares to impose on it."

The only thing that saves such criticism and writing from contempt is that they are beneath it. After all his "examination," our sage can do no better than to tell us that the passage is "almost certainly" abstract; and he defines abstraction as lack of correspondence with dramatic or expressive necessity. Thus we learn that abstraction is never dramatic or expressive! Yet Godard's subject matter (or, if you don't understand that term, his content) is so strong, "shall we say," that it can support *any amount* of nondramatic or nonexpressive material!

Readers may remember that I am not among Godard's fervent admirers, that I take most of his work with a grain of *saltimbanque*. Yet, lodged among the incessant effusions of his camera, there are, so far, two films I think fine – *Breathless* and *A Married Woman* – and no one could possibly deny his huge influence on young filmmakers. In any event he deserves a more intelligent, perceptive, and literate exegete than Mr. Roud.

Three more books in this series will be published later this year. Let us, despite all indications, hope.



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